

GREEKS AND TÜRKMENS: THE PONTIC EXCEPTION

ANTHONY BRYER

This paper is substantially the same as that (entitled then "The Case of Trebizond: an Exception") read at the Symposium on "The Decline of Byzantine Civilization in Asia Minor, Eleventh-Fifteenth Century," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1974.

The term 'Türkmens' defies definition; by it I intend no more than Turks who were primarily nomadic or pastoralist; and by 'Turks' I mean Turks who were primarily settled. Two appendices, extracts in translation from Panaretos and a genealogy, are included to justify the argument. Where a source is quoted, or a statement is made, without reference in the text, documentation will be found in an appendix.

I am grateful to Mrs. Sue Payne for typing the paper and to Dr. David Holton for checking the typescript in my absence. For discussion of it, I am most grateful to Professor Hélène Ahrweiler, Professor Claude Cahen, and, especially, to Professor Speros Vryonis, Jr., Director of the Symposium.

A characteristic of recent studies of Anatolia in the period between Mantzikert and the rise of the Ottomans is their emphasis on the Türkmens as agents of change. In two formidable, independent, and distinctly approached analyses, Professors Claude Cahen and Speros Vryonis, Jr., agree in arguing that the Türkmen contribution was decisive in the final collapse of Byzantine rule, culture, and economy in western and north-western Anatolia, particularly after a turning point in the late thirteenth century.¹ But the more this argument, which is, in general, palpably correct, passes into wider currency, the more difficult it will be to account for major exceptions which prove the rule among other local Christian peoples of the Anatolian coastlands who were also under Türkmen pressure. Thus the Cilician Armenians were able to put an end to both Rustem and the first Karaman, but could not resist the Mamluks.² So also, the Georgians were consistently vigorous in stemming Türkmen infiltration on the Caucasian marches and along the Akampsis (Çoruh) river, but succumbed to the Mongols.³ But the most notable exception was on the Pontic shore, where the Trapezuntines held the Türkmens—and outlasted Seljuks, Mongols, and Byzantines of Constantinople in the process.

An obvious explanation for the relative failure of the Byzantines of Ionian and Bithynian Anatolia against the Türkmens, and the relative success of the Armenians, Georgians, and Trapezuntines, is the lesson (learned since the late eleventh century) that where there was the will to resist, backed by local autonomy, leadership, or identity, and coupled with the restraints of a centralized state, no Türkmens were in a position to surmount it. So the most substantial Türkmen expansion in western and northwestern Anatolia followed the coincidental transfer elsewhere (in different ways and to differing extents)

¹ C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history, c. 1071–1330* (London, 1968), 307–14: "... it will come as no surprise to find that the emancipation of the Turcomans was accompanied by a new expansion at the expense of the Byzantine Empire" (after 1243). S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971), 194: "The invasions, settlements, and raids of the Turkmens played a crucial role in the fate of the Anatolian peninsula. The impact of this nomadic-pastoral-warrior society, which was at the height of its heroic age, upon Christians was one of the principal factors in the cultural transformation of Asia Minor"; *idem*, "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 251–308. P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1963), 31; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler). Tarihleri-boy teşkilât-destanları*, 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1972), esp. 327–35; M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society Under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)* (Oxford, 1974), 101: "The pressure of the Turkomans upon the Nicaean frontier seems to have become more noticeable from the 1250s." Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317) particulièrement au XIII^e siècle," *TM*, 1 (1965), 27.

² Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 110–11, 281–82; *idem*, "Quelques textes négligés concernant les Turcomans de Rûm au moment de l'invasion mongole," *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), 133–34; *idem*, "Notes sur l'histoire des Turcomans d'Asie Mineure au XIII^e siècle," *JA*, 239 (1951), 340–49; *idem*, "Questions d'histoire de la province de Kastamonu au XIII^e siècle," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3 (1971), 145–58.

³ Vryonis, *Decline*, 283–84; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People from the Beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1932), 95–108.

of two great centralized and local Anatolian governments: the Seljuk state to the Mongols after 1243 (and, more definitively, after 1277), and the 'Empire of Nicaea' to Constantinople after 1261. The coefficient between the decline of centralized government and the spread of pastoralism is familiar enough, but what is striking is not the evaporation of Byzantine authority in western Anatolia and its subsequent supplanting by seven emirates of more or less Türkmen origin, within half a century of the loss of its local government in 1261, but the survival (until 1390) of the one enclave there which had local autonomy and wished to keep it: Philadelphia (Alaşehir).⁴

By contrast, the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond were, like the Georgian and Cilician Armenian rulers, representatives of a local separatism and identity. The Pontos was not some sort of oversight in the Islamization of Anatolia, any more than its 'Empire of Trebizond' was a historical accident. It is true that, like the Laskarids of Magnesia, the first Grand Komnenoi had aspirations to Constantinople, but the Seljuks, and the Laskarids themselves, put a practical end to that by 1214.⁵ A small, but significant, pointer is that the new Pontic rulers were soon resigned to rebuilding the cathedral of Trebizond by equipping it, liturgically, as a local coronation church,⁶ although their formal claim to be emperors of Romaioi remained a diplomatic issue until 1282.⁷ But Pontic separatism had captured the Grand Komnenoi in the way that any western Anatolian identity had not absorbed the Laskarids and Palaiologoi; in modern terms, it might be ventured that Nicaea was a Taiwan to Trebizond's Bangladesh.

Unlike almost any other part of Anatolia, the Pontos had a head start, for it was hardly touched by the long, debilitating struggle with the Arabs and (later) the Seljuks; whatever thirteenth- and fifteenth-century dependence the Pontos had upon the Seljuks and Mongols, it was not accompanied by invasion or occupation, and the Grand Komnenoi only met the Ottomans in the last decades of their independence. Even in the fifteenth century, the Trapezuntines never experienced wars of attrition. This fostered, and is partly accounted for by, a historic Pontic separatism.

Something of the intense localism of the Pontos can perhaps be glimpsed in the very name of the *thema* of Chaldia from the 820's: Chaldia, or 'Halt',⁸ it is almost certainly an Urartu word. Today it suggests 'The people on the other

⁴ Ahrweiler, "Smyrne," 26-28, 137-38; D. M. Nicol, "Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family," *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 9-17.

⁵ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, Bonn ed. (1835), 828, 844-45; H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen, 1959), 64-68.

⁶ The Panagia Chrysokephalos in Trebizond was rebuilt, probably after 1222, with three archaic features, which would then have been required only for the liturgy of coronation: a *metatorion*, an ambo, and a gallery. The argument will be put forward, with documentation, in a forthcoming Dumbarton Oaks Study, *The Medieval Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, by A. Bryer and D. Winfield.

⁷ George Pachymeres, Bonn ed. (1835), vol. I, 520-24.

⁸ Haldi is the Urartu Sun God, who lived over the mountains: C. Burney and D. M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills. Ancient Ararat and the Caucasus* (London, 1971), 159, 163-64. Constantine VII naturally sought a (spurious) Chaldaean origin for the unfamiliar word: *Costantino Porfirogenito, De thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi, ST, 160 (Vatican City, 1952), 73.

side of the mountains,' a sort of *Perateia*, and has a mildly pejorative tone; a number of Trapezuntine villages are still called Halt.⁹ The *thema* of Chaldia gave administrative expression to local identity. The seven central valleys flanking Trebizond became *banda*, or military parishes; each developed a subculture. From west to east they were (probably) the Philabonites (Harşit Dere), Trikomia (Akçaabat-Kalenima Dere), Trebizond (Trabzon), Matzouka-Palaiomatzouka (Maçka-Hamsiköy), Gemora (Yomra), Sourmaina (Sürmene), and Rhizaion (Rize). Of these, only the Philabonites valley was lost to the Türkmens entirely; the remaining six valleys retained their military structure, inherited from the ninth century, in working order until 1461. Later, each valley became in turn an Ottoman *kaza*, a *derebey* lordship, and a modern administrative district. It is not conservatism but geography that dictates that the medieval and modern boundaries must be the same.

The events of the eleventh and twelfth centuries revealed that the political boundaries of the Pontos had only been masked by common Roman and Byzantine rule since the incorporation of the Sinopitan 'empire' into the Roman. The boundaries also serve for the 2,000 m. contour, the high rain mark, and the limits of ancient Greek colonization. Massive *thema* castles along the Lykos and at Amaseia, and Kekaumenos' Koloneia went without a fight, but the inner fortresses and passes and the seven valleys of Chaldia resisted. They were opposing Constantinople just as much as they were the Seljuks and Danişmendids. The Gabrades emerged as the first independent rulers of Chaldia, precursors of the Grand Komnenoi, from the 1070's to the 1140's. It is true that St. Theodore Gabras, duke of Chaldia, died a martyr to the Seljuks in 1098, but to Constantinople he was an incorrigible rebel, while in later Turkish heroic poetry he is a clean-limbed hero. In the *Melik-danişmendname* Gabras is remembered as a combination of heroes (such as the bishop Metropid), whose Amazonian daughter (Amazons are traditionally endemic to the Pontos) turns Turk and, attractively disguised as a monk, insinuates the Danişmendids into the great fortified monastery of St. Gregory the Wonderworker at Neokaisareia (Niksar). But in all actual probability the Saint's estates passed through normal family inheritance, within a century of his martyrdom, to a Mångucak emir of Erzincan (whose dynasty, like the Danişmendid, issued coins bearing Greek titles and Orthodox saints), and to Hasan ibn Gavras, *vizir* to Kiliç Arslan II, who disputed them in 1192.¹⁰

That the Gabrades and Grand Komnenoi were local Anatolian rulers, while the Palaiologoi were not after 1261, goes some way to explaining why local resistance to the Türkmens was comparatively lively in the Pontos and failed in the west. But there is more to explain, for if the Türkmens were the most

⁹ Among them Χάλτ, one of the last nine Christian villages of Ophis (Of): I. Parcharides, Στατιστική τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ὁφείως τοῦ νομοῦ Τραπεζοῦντος, in Παρνασσός, 3 (1879), 228.

¹⁰ Irène Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Danişmend*, I (Paris, 1960), *passim*; C. Cahen, "Une famille byzantine au service des Seljouquides d'Asie Mineure," *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), 145-49; A. Bryer, "A Byzantine Family: the Gabrades, c. 979-c. 1653," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12 (1970), 164-87; and A. Bryer, S. Fassoulakis, and D. Nicol, "A Byzantine Family: the Gabrades. An Additional Note," *Byzantinoslavica*, 36 (1975), 38-45.

insidious threat of all, the classic case of confrontation between them and local Christians over a very long period (with outside limits of the eleventh to the twentieth centuries) is in the Pontos, where, if neither side 'won,' it was not to the Türkmens that the Trapezuntines 'lost,' and Pontic Greeks remained numerically dominant and retained a singular cultural integrity. But here, on the face of it, geography and economy conspire to reduce the more confused situation in the west to beguiling simplicity: for centuries mountain Türkmen pastoralists faced coastal Greek agriculturalists over the windy summer pastures which divided them for over 500 km. These stark geographical concepts, which form the scenery of the fifteenth-century ballad cycle of *Dede Korkut* (and, to a lesser extent, of the *Melikdanişmendname*), relate with almost suspicious neatness to Professor Xavier de Planhol's studies of the recent pastoral and agricultural economies of the Pontos.¹¹

The permanent factors which distinguish the Pontos are indeed clear-cut. The extent of ancient, medieval, and modern Greek settlement is strikingly defined by geography, land use, and climate. The littoral, with its catena of ancient Greek trading stations and colonies, stretching from Sinope in the west (where olive cultivation resumes) to Bathys (Batumi) in the east, is hemmed into the Euxine by the Pontic Alps, which rise to over 4,000 m. in the east. The culture of the coastland has always looked outward. It is isolated from Anatolia proper by the mountain range, whose great pass, the Pontic Gates (fig. 3), in turn contributed to the commercial prosperity of Trebizond. The Pontic Gates were open from the 1250's until the early fifteenth century, coinciding with the career of the Trapezuntine empire, when the city became a major outlet for Mongol Central Asia. The Trebizond-Pontic Gates-Tabriz route was then important and the Grand Komnenoi (unlike the Palaiologoi of Constantinople) kept *kommerkion* receipts, but its medieval wealth has been overestimated. In fact, the most flourishing days of the route did not come until the Pontic Gates were reopened for the last time in 1829-69, when Trebizond became the principal port of Persia, until the cutting of the Suez Canal and rise of Samsun put an end to the final period of Trapezuntine prosperity.¹²

¹¹ X. de Planhol, "Geographica Pontica," *JA*, 251 (1963), 293-309; *idem*, "La signification géographique du livre de Dede Korkut," *JA*, 254 (1966), 225-44; *idem*, "A travers les chaînes pontiques. Plantations côtières et vie montagnarde," *Bulletin de l'Association de Géographes Français*, 311-12 (1963), 2-12; *idem*, "Aspects of Mountain Life in Anatolia and Iran," in *Geography as Human Ecology. Methodology by Example*, eds. S. R. Eyre and G. R. J. Jones (London, 1966), 291-308; Irène Mélikoff, "Les Géorgiens et les Arméniens dans la littérature épique des Turcs d'Anatolie," *Bedi Kart(h)lisa* (hereafter referred to as *BK*), 11-12 (1961), 27-35; and *idem*, "Géorgiens, Turcomans et Trébizonde: Notes sur le 'Livre de Dede Korkut'," *BK*, 17-18 (1964), 18-27.

¹² W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge* (Leipzig, 1886), II, 100, and G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), 178, among others, argue that the transit trade of Trebizond far outweighed indigenous products in importance; A. Bryer, *The Society and Institutions of the Empire of Trebizond* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford, 1967), I, 84-140, argues the reverse. There is, however, no doubt about the 19th-century revival: see C. Issawi, "The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1 (1970), 18-27, which does not use the Anonymous, "Trebizond and the Persian transit trade," *Royal Central Asian Journal*, 31 (1944), 289-301. For a summary of permanent factors in Pontic history, see A. Bryer, "The *Tourkokratia* in the Pontos. Some Problems and Preliminary Conclusions," *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 33-36.

To the south of the Pontic Alps, the Armenian highlands are mountainous, dry, and cold: ranch- and thin cornland. They burn dungcakes and use screeching ox carts. In 1292 Edward I of England's embassy to the *Ilhan* found themselves hard put to lay hands on much to eat beyond the Pontic Alps: no wine, no oil, no fruit, no green stuff, some animal grease and a little meat. But 55 percent of their budget went on bread.¹³

The Alps themselves, the intermediate zone, are not peaks so much as 400–500 km. of the finest grazing in Anatolia. They stretch above the 2,000 m. tree line; they are snowbound for four months of the year, when coastal shepherds descend to their permanent villages and Anatolian graziers seek winter pastures. These summer pastures were the *uc*, in so far as there was one; the summer frontier between Türkmen and Trapezuntine. Here the English embassy bought plenty of fresh meat and milk products, but no bread, for graziers do not have fixed ovens.

Peering north beyond the summer pastures, the Türkmens saw beneath the rain clouds a 'sea of trees' (*agaç denizi*) (fig. 1): fertile, with the most formidable rainfall in Anatolia and, like similar forested coastlands which are shielded by mountains in the Lebanon and on the southern shores of the Caspian, long immune to settlement from the interior. In Ballad 6 of *Dede Korkut*, Turali's father warns him against descending from the open *yayla* through the dark valleys of the Pontos, where armed men lurk deep among the trees, to Trebizond:

Son, in the place where you would go,
Twisted and tortuous will the roads be;
Swamps there will be, where the horsemen will sink and never emerge;
Forests there will be, where the red serpent can find no path;
Fortresses there will be, that rub shoulders with the sky....
Your destination is a frightful place. Turn back!¹⁴

Between the summer pastures and Trebizond indeed lie the staggeringly tall castles of Mesochaldia (Kovans), Tzanicha (Canca-Gümüşhane) (fig. 2), Ardası (Torul), and Palaiomatzouka (Hamsiköy), and the Türkmens were not the only ones to be intimidated by the sudden change of geography. In September 1405, Clavijo came down from Hemşin (where he was harried by Armenians "who profess to be Christians," but "all are robbers and brigands") to Sourmaina (Sürmene) *bandon*: "The land is of the district of Trebizond, it lies along the sea coast and is very mountainous, the hill sides everywhere being covered

¹³ This and items cited later are compiled from accounts in Rot. Pat., 19 Edw. I, Membrane 11, Public Record Office, London, most accessible in C. Desimoni, "I conti dell' ambasciata al Chan di Persia nel 1292," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13 (1884), 598–669.

¹⁴ Translation conflated from those in G. Lewis, *The Book of Dede Korkut* (London, 1974), 119, and F. Sümer, A. E. Uysal, and W. S. Walker, *The Book of Dede Korkut. A Turkish Epic* (Austin, Texas, and London, 1972), 101. See also X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam* (Paris, 1968), 223–24; E. Efendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. J. von Hammer, II (London, 1834; New York-London, 1968), 243.

by forests The paths we had to follow were so abominable, that it cost us the lives of near all the beasts of burden we had with us for our baggage.”¹⁵

But there were compensations. Here on the coast, the English were able to buy on most days of June 1292: bread, flour, wine, vinegar, fish, rice, milk, butter, olive oil, vegetables, fruits, nuts, mutton, lamb, pork, chicken, eggs, beef, tongue, and fodder and offal for their falcons and (when they returned next year) for a caged leopard, which they found themselves dragging from Tabriz to Dover (an embarrassing diplomatic present from *ghan* to King; a new lock had to be made for it in Trebizond). On the Pontic coast they spent four times as much as they had been able to near Erzurum, but their bread bill fell to only 5–10 percent of the daily total and the wine account (the famous black wine of Trebizond, made from untrained vines), reached a record 36 percent one heroic day. This was embassy diet, but the littoral offered exceptionally good living by any medieval standard and the skimpy charters of the peasantry in the Acts of Vazelon confirm a remarkably wide diet.¹⁶ Here they burn wood, not dung, and use pack animals, not carts, on the narrow paved ‘imperial highways’¹⁷ which snake up the valleys. Houses are either fortified towers or wooden chalets, with stabling below, not mud-built with the hay piled above. To the east the monstrous Mosynoikoi had lived “in trees or *pyrgoi*”;¹⁸ Clavijo found, in the same area, that “The population live in hamlets each of which bears the name of *Turio* [τύρσις, *turris*, *pyrgos*], the same consisting of well-masoned cottages, a few together standing in one place and elsewhere others.”¹⁹ The settlement pattern follows that of much of the Caucasus, but is exceptional in Anatolia: scattered non-nucleated groups of hamlets and crofts are entitled *choria* for administrative purposes; there is a very high ratio between town and country. Equally, the coastal towns (there were no towns inland north of the Pontic Alps) were often no more than administrative and commercial conveniences; many still double in size on market days. Unlike the ancient Greek colonies of the West, they had never boasted the Hellenistic marks of a city—theaters, stoas, gymnasia, stadia, and other civic monuments; and only the modern street systems of Sinope and of eastern Trebizond bear traces of classic ‘Milesian’ grid planning. Sinope, Kerasous (Giresun), Tripolis (Tirebolu), Koralla (Görele Burunu), Trebizond, and Rhizaion (Rize) were walled towns, but do not seem to have thereby necessarily been places of refuge. In times of trouble the Pontic instinct was to take to the steep valley forests. In the early 1430’s, Cüneyd of Erdebil invested Trebizond; the Grand Komnenos John IV found his capital

¹⁵ R. Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamerlán*, ed. F. L. Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 245, CXIX; *idem*, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. G. Le Strange (London, 1928), 336. J. P. Fallmerayer was the first to recognize the importance of the dramatic change of landscape between Trebizond and the interior to Pontic history: *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827; Hildesheim, 1964), 291–94.

¹⁶ Th. Ouspensky and V. Bénéchévitch, *Actes de Vazelon. Matériaux pour servir à l’histoire de la propriété rurale et monastique à Byzance aux XIII–XV siècles* (Leningrad, 1927), *passim*. Professors N. Panayiotakis and A. Bryer are preparing a new edition of the Acts of Vazelon, based upon the Leningrad and Ankara cartularies.

¹⁷ Vazelon Acts, no. 100 of 1344.

¹⁸ Strabo, *Geographia*, XII.III.18.

¹⁹ Clavijo, *loc. cit.*; A. Bryer, “Some notes on the Laz and Tzan,” pt. 1, *BK*, 21–22 (1966), 181; pt. 2, *BK*, 23–24 (1967), 168.

reduced to a population of fifty persons, for some 4,000 citizens had simply melted away—John berated them as “women, cowards and traitors,”²⁰ but they knew what they were doing. When, in 1832, Osman *paşa*’s army of 7,000 captured the substantial and then rebel town of Sürmene, its entire population was brought back in triumph to Trebizond: it proved to consist of three old women and one infant.²¹ The walled towns of the coast never offered Türkmens the rich pickings they found in the cities of Ionia, and they never took one for long.

After the Black, or ‘Sudden,’ Death, I estimate that Tafur’s figure of 4,000 for the population of Trebizond is not too low; but it was the capital of a pocket empire of 200,000–250,000 souls.²² The strength of Pontic society therefore lay in the country, in the seven rural *banda*, their village communities (still paying *allelengyon* levies in the fifteenth century), their ‘peacemaking elders,’ their local defense system, and the absence of very large estates in *pronoia*, or large numbers of *paroikoi* (a term unknown to the Acts of Vazelon). For once, the legendary Byzantine yeoman, or free peasant, might have been alive and well.²³ The extent of the Trapezuntine rural achievement in resisting Türkmens and Turks in the central, but nevertheless ‘front-line,’ *bandon* of Matzouka (Maçka) may be demonstrated by the following population figures, which are approximate, but fairly reliable.²⁴

Date	Choria	Christians	Muslims	Christian %
ca. 1520	57	12,080	1,665	88 %
ca. 1920	70	16,525	5,335	76 %

On the size of Türkmen population there is less information. Al Umari gives Mureddin Hamza of Canik a standing army of 7,000 cavalry and more infantry before 1348; Panaretos states that Taceddin of Limnia fielded 12,000 men in 1386; and Clavijo that Altamur (? I) of Chalybia had 10,000 horsemen in 1404.²⁵ By contrast, the largest recorded Trapezuntine army, a show force to

²⁰ Laonicus Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed. (1843), 462–66.

²¹ Public Record Office, London, FO 524/1; A. Bryer, “The last Laz risings and the downfall of the Pontic Derebeys, 1812–1840,” *BK*, 26 (1969), 203.

²² Michael Panaretos, *Περὶ τῶν μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, ed. O. Lampsides, in *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 22 (1958), 68, 74, 80; G. Villani, *Historie fiorentine*, Muratori, *RerItalSS*, 13 (Milan, 1728), 964; Pero Tafur, *Travels and adventures, 1435–1439*, trans. M. Letts (London, 1926), 131; M. T. Gökbilgin, “XVI. yüzyıl başlarında Trabzon livası ve doğu Karadeniz bölgesi,” *BTTK*, 26 (1962), 295; Bryer, “Tourkokratia,” 36–41.

²³ A. Bryer, “Rural society in the empire of Trebizond,” *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 28 (1966), 152–60.

²⁴ Gökbilgin, “Trabzon,” 314–18; Chrysanthos (Philippides) Metropolitan of Trebizond, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζούντος*, in *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 4–5 (1933) 791–96; G. Zerzelides, *Τοπωνυμικὴ τῆς Ἀνω Ματσούκας*, in *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 23 (1959), 91–93. Both sets of figures are in hearths or households; a multiplier of five has been used. The Ottoman figures do not include those for the village of İlaksa, which belonged to the Padişah. The ca. 1920 figures reveal that the Prytanis valley (off which Vazelon stands) was 88 percent Greek, and the Panagia valley (in which Soumela stands) was 89 percent Greek. Modern Maçka is reckoned to embrace 76 settlements.

²⁵ Sihabeddin Abul Abbas Ahmed ben Yahya ibn Fadl Allah el Adawi, al Umari, trans. M. Quatremère, “Notice de l’ouvrage qui a pour titre: Mesalek Alabsar fi Memalek Alamsar (Masalák-al-absar). Voyage des yeux dans les différentes contrées,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, 13 (1838), 363–64; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides (*supra*, note 22), 76, 80; Clavijo (*supra*, note 15), trans. Le Strange, 109, ed. Estrada, 73.

impress the Akkoyunlu emir in 1365, was little more than 2,000 foot and horse. These relative figures may be misleading, for while an expedition raised by a Grand Komnenos may have represented about 1 percent of his subjects, an entire Türkmen people on the move is near indistinguishable from an army. By the 1520's, Muslim (but not necessarily Türkmen) settlement was as slight as that in Matzouka throughout the Pontos. Demographically, Trapezuntines were probably overwhelmingly predominant on the coast.

I have so far set the reasons for Pontic separatism and resilience against the simple background of de Planhol's three geographical and economic zones, for the sake of convenience assigning the coast to the Trapezuntines, the highlands to the Türkmens, and the intervening summer pastures as the *uc*. This rule probably holds better in the Pontos than elsewhere in Anatolia, but it is time to admit complications, for it is very far from invariable²⁶ (why, for example, were all Pontic emirates coastal?), to describe each Pontic Türkmen group in turn, and to attempt an analysis of the mutual effects of the long symbiosis of Trapezuntine and Türkmen.

In the first decades after the emergence of the Grand Komnenoi and the fall of the Danişmendids to the Seljuks, there was (as elsewhere) a period of

²⁶ Two misconceptions, upon which de Planhol's analysis is partly based, should be disposed of immediately. (1) The coastal plantations of hazelnut groves are not a largely 19th-century revival, but have a continuous medieval history. Although (through a state fixed price policy) they have greatly developed in the last two decades, and now approach the dangers of a monoculture in some districts, there is abundant evidence that hazelnuts were a major (if not *the* major) export of the empire of Trebizond. Nut trees are mentioned frequently in the Acts of Vazelon, and nuts were bought by the English in June 1292 (although then out of season). The hazelnut harvest and drying comes at the end of August and beginning of September (and is now accompanied by a wave of crime in the Pontos). On 17 September 1405, Clavijo caught a Genoese hazelnut cargo ship from Platana to Pera. In 1418 Alexios IV arranged to pay a massive indemnity to Genoa in hazelnuts. Toward the end of that century Barbaro noted that "the woods are filled with many nut trees, of the same variety as those in Apulia." The first recorded export of *κάρνα Ποντικά* comes in 259 B.C. with a consignment to Alexandria; the 135 nuts found at Novgorod are probably Pontic; an alternative name for Matzouka (Maçka) was Karydia (Cevizlik); and indeed the very Turkish word for nut may well be derived from the name Pontos (*findık*). (2) De Planhol is mistaken in assigning any antiquity to the groups of abandoned Greek villages which lie on the marginal lands at about 2,000 m. immediately below the downs north of Ordu (Kotyora) and elsewhere, and hence arguing the present situation as the final victory of Turkish pasture over former Greek agriculture. These nucleated (as opposed to the medieval and older settlements of the valleys) villages were largely established as a result of a flight to the highlands from the late 17th century, when Derebeys took over the better coastal lands. Hence the growth of the mountain villages of Santa and Kromni and the settlements southwest of Ardası (Torul), which by credible tradition derived from Platana (Akçaabat) and Sourmaina (Sürmene) on the coast. The former Greek villages in the area around Cambaşı, examined by de Planhol, may be even more recent in origin, perhaps connected with the emergence of 19th-century Ordu. I have found no evidence of monuments before the 19th century in this group and it is therefore unfortunate that de Planhol's original description of them as "Anciens villages grecs" appears as "Ancient Greek villages" in the English version of his argument. See de Planhol, "Chaînes pontiques" (*supra*, note 11), 3; *idem*, "Aspects" (*supra*, note 11), 299; Clavijo, ed. Estrada, 245; trans. Le Strange, 336; N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, I (Paris, 1899), 274; M. W. Thompson, *Novgorod the Great* (London, 1967), 7-8; Iosafat Barbaro, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia alla Tana, in Persia, in India, in Constantinopoli* (Venice, 1546), 48v; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1950), II, 1073-74; Bryer, "Tourkokratia," 45-47; Selina Ballance, A. Bryer, and D. Winfield, "Nineteenth-century Monuments in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond: Architectural and Historical Notes," pt. 1, 'Αρχ.Πόντ., 28 (1966), 268-73; A. Bryer, *idem*, pt. 2, 'Αρχ.Πόντ., 29 (1968), 108-9; A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *idem*, pt. 3, 'Αρχ.Πόντ., 30 (1970), 237, 375; A. Bryer, Jane Isaac, and D. Winfield, *idem*, pt. 4, 'Αρχ.Πόντ., 32 (1973), 177-79, 254; I. D. Saltzes, *Χρονικά Κοιτώνων* (Salonica, 1955), 23-24.

consolidation and coexistence. When, on 1 November 1214, the Seljuks took Sinope from the Trapezuntines, they rebuilt its walls, proclaiming the fact in a great bilingual inscription on the acropolis: the 'Seljuk' architect was called Sebastos; the 'Seljuk' governor was called Hetum. When the Trapezuntines retook Sinope for the last time in the 1260's, they installed a Gabras as governor—who else? After all, when Kaykubad wanted an envoy to Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II in 1234, he too chose a Gabras.²⁷

Amisos must later have presented a curious spectacle of coexistence. The Genoese and the emirs of Aydin had faced each other in their respective castles at Smyrna,²⁸ but at Amisos there stood up to four apparently distinct towns along five kilometers of seashore. Three were walled and one was probably derelict. The situation was only put to an end by the tidy-minded Ottomans. Reading from east to west, the towns were: the Genoese castle and factory of Simisso; the Turkish settlement of Samsun (later given a castle); Greek Aminos (which soon dropped out of the running—it is not clear which Aminos the Grand Logothete George Scholaris of Trebizond fled to in 1363); and, finally, the probably deserted acropolis of classical Amisos. The Havza emirate controlled the route south, but territorially it would be fruitless to color the map around any color at all.²⁹

There are hints of a certain cultural interchange. After his abortive attack on Trebizond in 1222–23, the *melik* Muğith al-Din Tuğrıṣah of Erzurum (son of Kiliç Arslan) may have become some sort of vassal of the Grand Komnenos Andronikos I Gidon, and endowed at least one monastery in Trebizond.³⁰ The 'stalactite' decoration and other reused or eclectic (Seljuk, Armenian, Byzantine, classical) elements in the columns, capitals, and reliefs of the Grand Komnenos Manuel I's church of the Hagia Sophia present an

²⁷ Duda, *Ibn Bibi* (*supra*, note 5), 64–68; A. Papadop(o)ulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini* (hereafter, *FHIT*), I (all published) (St. Petersburg, 1897; Amsterdam, 1965), 117–18, 131; E. Blochet, "Note sur quatre inscriptions arabes de l'Asie Mineure et sur quatre inscriptions du sultan mamlouk Kaitbay," *Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, 6 (1898), 75ff., but N. Kuruoğlu, "Sinop," in N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri*, I (Ankara, 1959), 280–91, names the architect as Abu Ali ibn Abir-Rakka el Kettani of Aleppo who designed the Alanyan arsenal of 1227; N. A. Bees, *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sinaiticus Graecus 508 (976) und die Maria-Spiläotissa-Klosterkirche bei Sille (Lykaonien), mit Exkursen zur Geschichte der Seldschukiden-Türken*, TFBzNgPhil, 1 (Berlin, 1922), 53–54 (for Greek text); Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 122–23; Vryonis, *Decline*, 197, 236; C. Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien au début du XIII^e siècle," *Mélanges... Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 91–101; *idem*, "Quelques textes" (*supra*, note 2), 138. The only other Pontic Arabic-Greek inscription known to me also comes from Sinope; dated 1641, it is in the 'Balat Kilise'; later Karamanli inscriptions are notably absent; Maria G. Nystazopoulou, 'Η ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουγδαία ἀπὸ τοῦ ΙΓ' μέχρι τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος (Athens, 1965), 120, entry 17; Bryer, "Gabrades," 181, no. 15; G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente francescano* (Florence, 1906–27), II, 298–99; Bryer, "Gabrades," 181 (No. 12).

²⁸ Ahrweiler "Smyrne," 41.

²⁹ Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 75; the sites will be described in the study by Bryer and Winfield (*supra*, note 6). J. Schiltberger describes the situation in 1402, after the Greek town had dropped out: "Samson consists of two cities opposite each other, and their walls are distant, one from the other, an arrow's flight. In one of these cities there are Christians, and at that time the Italians of Genoa possessed it. In the other are Infidels to whom the country belongs." Between the two cities Schiltberger placed the tale of the battle between the sea-serpents and land-vipers, perhaps an allegory here of the maritime Italians and earthbound Turks: J. B. Telfer, *The bondage and travels of Johann Schiltberger, a native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1396–1427* (London, 1879), 12.

³⁰ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 125; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, I, 131.

agreeable cultural confusion.³¹ It may have been in Manuel's reign (1238–63) that the wife of an emir of Sivas came pursued by demons to Trebizond, to seek comfort at the tomb of St. Athanasios the Δαίμονοκαταλύτης (metropolitan in 867–86) and in his old monastery of St. Phokas. It was the Exorcist's last recorded miracle.³²

³¹ Illustrated in *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, ed. D. Talbot Rice (Edinburgh, 1968), pls. 9A, 9B, 10A, 10B, 21E, 21F, 22D, 23A–D, figs. 12–53; see also J. M. Rogers, "Recent Work on Seljuk Anatolia," *Kunst des Orients*, 6 (1970), 153–61, 165. Sculpturally and architecturally the interchange was overwhelmingly between Armenians and Seljuks, not Greeks. Tamara Talbot Rice's proposition that the Hagia Sophia work is that of Seljuk refugees from the battle of Köse Dağ in 1243 is hardly convincing: "Decorations in the Seljuk Style in the Church of St. Sophia at Trebizond," *Gedächtnisschrift Diez* (Istanbul, 1963), 87–119.

³² The evidence is potentially important, yet of the kind that falls to pieces in the hands, but there are attestations that it may have some reliability, which will have to be argued out. (1) The Synaxarion of St. Athanasios is palpably very late, but he is known from earlier Greek sources. That his tomb was venerated in Trebizond, in 1318 at least, may be confirmed from an unexpected quarter: Odoric de Pordenone, O.F.M., was shown "the body of Athanasius upon the gate of the city" then. (Odoric is rightly used with caution, but his opening paragraphs about the Pontic shore—where he may have picked up his Central Asian Tales—are reliable enough, and even his tale of 4,000 tame 'partridges' at Zigana is credible to anyone who has witnessed the migration of vast flocks of exhausted quail which blacken the sky there in September.) Later, John Mandeville embroidered Odoric by reporting that in Trebizond "lieth Saint Athanasius that was bishop of Alexandria, that made the psalm QVIQVNQVE VVLT." St. Athanasios the Great had (of course) nothing to do with Trebizond; the only other sainted Athanasios native of the city, the Athonite, was buried in his Great Lavra. Odoric (and Mandeville) must therefore intend the Exorcist. His Synaxarion states that his body was translated back to the monastery of St. Phokas, presumably after the emir's wife and Odoric venerated it, and perhaps after 1461, when the relics of a Greek metropolitan above an Ottoman city gate would have been inappropriate: there is, in fact, what appears to be a chapel or shrine above the Gate of St. George of the Limnians to the northeast of the citadel. (2) The monastery of St. Phokas, perhaps τοῦ Διάκονου, and not to be confused with that at Kordyle, may be referred to in 980. It would have had to have been within commuting distance of Trebizond, where we are told that St. Athanasios took the weekend cathedral services. Ioannides, a 19th-century Trapezuntine schoolmaster and antiquary, placed its ruins in the Hotz-Kymena district, south of modern Trabzon airport and the University of the Black Sea. He gives no explanation for his identification, but his instructions led me in 1973 to a partly rock-cut church (painted, perhaps, in the 14th century) near Hoşmeşalos; it will be published in Bryer's and Winfield's study. The Synaxarion gives the monastery an iron-rich estate at Τζαμπούρου; there is a Cam Burunu east of Sourmaina (Sürmene), but the Cam Burunu on Cape Jason, in the Chalybian iron lands, seems more likely. (3) The Synaxarion does not state in which Grand Komnenos Manuel's reign the emir's wife came. Manuel II reigned very briefly in 1332; in Manuel III's reign (1390–1417), Sivas was wrecked by the Mongols. I have therefore followed other commentators in taking it to be the reign of the more famous Manuel I (1238–63). (4) If this is so, and if the other indications cited add sufficient weight for the Synaxarion to be taken seriously, the tale of the emir's wife fits well enough in a cultural milieu of late 13th-century Sivas, which was even more hybrid than that of Manuel's Trebizond. Among three splendid *medreses* erected there in 1271/72, the Gök was designed by the Greek Kaluyan al-Qunawi, and the Burüciye and Çift Minare show Armenianizing influences. A Franciscan house was established there about eight years later. The emir's wife need not have been Muslim Turk. One candidate would be the Caucasian Khoshak Mkhargrdzeli, who probably married Şams al-Din Cüvayni (patron of the Çifte Minare in Sivas) in the last years of Manuel's reign. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν Τραπεζοῦντος, *VizVrem*, 12 (1906), 138–41; F. Halkin, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, SubsHag, 47 (Brussels, 1969), 194, no. 2047t; A. W. Pollard, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, with three narratives in illustration of it . . .* (London, 1900; New York, 1964), 98, 326; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, I, 53, 47, 58, 120; K. Lake, *The early days of monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909), 103; S. Ioannides, Ἱστορία καὶ Στατιστικὴ Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ τῆς περὶ ταύτην χώρας (Constantinople, 1890), 239; Chrysanthos, Ἐκκλησία (*supra*, note 24), 217–21; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century Monuments," pt. 3 (*supra*, note 26), 294; Golubovich, *Biblioteca* (*supra*, note 27), I, 301; A. Bryer, "Trebizond and Rome," Ἀρχ.Πόντ., 26 (1964), 294–95, 300 note 2; Vryonis, *Decline*, 486; J. M. Rogers, *Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia, 1200–1300* (Oxford, 1971) (unpublished Dr. Phil. thesis); O. Turan, "Les souverains seljoukides et leurs sujets non musulmans," *Studia Islamica*, 1 (1953), 80–83. I am grateful to Miss Barbara Brend and Father Jean Darrouzès for discussion and information.

Things began to change not so much after Köse Dağ in 1243 (when the Seljuks and their Anatolian allies went down to the Mongols), but after 1277 (when the Mongols' Anatolian tributaries failed to stop the Mamluks). George Komnenos of Trebizond and the *pervane* (who held Sinope, and perhaps Samtzkhe as well) both fell to the vengeance of the *İlhan*. The *pervane* was perhaps eaten;³³ in the very year of his death, the Çepni are recorded as active in his old lands in Samsun and Sinope.³⁴ Out of the confusion, the Pontic coastal strip was more or less isolated for the next 150 years from the doings of greater powers in Anatolia by a ring of often very small buffer lordships and non-territorial groupings, with which it arranged an accommodation. To the east lay principalities on the Caucasian pattern: the sometimes client Gurieli of Guria; then came a sort of Laz tribal reservation, which the clerks of Trebizond solemnly entitled a *thema*.³⁵ To the south lay the castles and ranches of Greco-Laz dynasties along the Tabriz caravan road, like Mesochaldia of the Kabazitai,³⁶ or Tzanicha of the Tzanichitai.³⁷ They were virtually independent, given great titles at court. With his tongue only slightly in his cheek, duke Leon II Kabazites protested to Clavijo in 1404 that "he lived in this barren land . . . and had continually to defend himself against the Turks who were his neighbours on all sides. . . . Further he said that he and his men had nothing to live on, except it were what they could get given them by those who passed through their country, and what they could come to by plundering the lands of their neighbours."³⁸ Further south were the caravan cities of Bayburt and Erzincan, which each had a (largely Armenian) Christian majority, a Muslim (not Türkmen) governor, and commercial links with Trebizond. To the south-southwest lay the only rural Trapezuntine district, which the Grand Komnenoi were normally unable to protect: Cheriana (Şiran-Uluşiran). Troubled by Türkmens, the local Christians may have organized self-defense under their bishop, who is said to have opposed the

³³ Hayton, *Flos historiarum terre Orientis*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens*, II (Paris, 1906), 309; A. A. M. Bryer, "The fate of George Komnenos, Ruler of Trebizond (1266–1280)," *BZ*, 66 (1973), 332–50 (where "eaten" should be read for "beaten," a misprint, in 346 note 68). On human sacrifice, see Vryonis, *Decline*, 273–74.

³⁴ Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (*supra*, note 1), 327.

³⁵ Panaretos, ed. *Lampsides*, 77; D. Bakradze, *Arheologičeskoe putešestvie po Gurii i Adčarë* (St. Petersburg, 1878), 11–12, 286–335, 337; A. Bryer, "Ludovico da Bologna and the Georgian and Anatolian Embassy of 1460–1461," *BK*, 19–20 (1965), 183 note 32. I propose that the inscription beside a painted tomb figure with scepter, of ca. 1400, in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, can be read as: . . . Ἀρχ[ὸν] Γουριᾶ[s]. D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Haghia Sophia*, fig. 122. V. Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV–Jean IV et David II," *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 18 (1953), 265.

³⁶ John I Kabazites was Grand *Logiaristes* in 1344–45, Grand Duke in 1349, and Duke of Chaldia in 1355–56. Leon I Kabazites was Grand Domestic in 1343 and *Protovestiarios* in 1350–51. John II Kabazites was Duke of Chaldia in 1404. A Kabazites was *Pansebastos* and Duke of Chaldia in 1461.

³⁷ A Tzanichites was Grand Stratopedarch in 1340. Stephen Tzanichites was Grand Constable in 1344. John Tzanichites was *Epikernes* in 1352. Constantine I Tzanichites was Grand Constable in 1386 and Constantine II Tzanichites was Grand Constable in 1415. Perhaps the last office controlled Tzan (i.e., Laz) irregulars.

³⁸ Clavijo, ed. Estrada, 80; trans. Le Strange, 117–18 ("Quilileo Cauasica," "Qurileo Arbosita" = "kyr Leon Kabazites," not "Cyril Cabasica").

Fatih in 1461.³⁹ To the southwest lay Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar), with a small industrial Greek Christian group of alum miners. The area was never in Trapezuntine hands, but the miners were able to export their alum to the West through Trapezuntine Kerasous.⁴⁰

After the *ḫervane's* gruesome death, the new factor was the emergence of Türkmen groups in west Pontos, called Canik. Their origins and early history are known almost entirely from Trapezuntine sources. The clue to their appearance on the coast is that the geographical zones, already outlined, are inconsistent here. The mountains are not continuously parallel with the sea and, in west Pontos, there are two vulnerable breaks which cannot be blocked like passes. They are where the Halys (Kızıl Irmak) and Iris (Yeşil Irmak) can be navigated inland and (as Strabo pointed out) can take graziers down to delta pastures in the winter.⁴¹ And there are two stretches, in iron-bearing Chalybia and around Omidia, just west of Kerasous, where the mountains fall so abruptly into the sea that there is little coastal settlement to resist infiltration from the interior. After they had suppressed the Danişmendids, the Seljuks made great efforts to reach the coast down the Halys at the turn of the twelfth century, matching their Mediterranean port of Antalya (1207). Türkmen groups eventually sought out three other vulnerable stretches and established themselves at the mouth of the Iris, in Chalybia, and west of Kerasous. This apparently left the empire of Trebizond as a series of coastal enclaves, up to five in number, sandwiched between Türkmen stretches. Viewed territorially, this way, it is a reasonable concept with ancient precedent, for the old colonial 'empire' of Sinope had assembled almost precisely the same disconnected patches, including Trebizond.⁴² It was natural enough; insofar as Sinope had a hinterland, it was its Euxine colonies and the Crimea, not mountainous and inhospitable Paphlagonia.⁴³ Trebizond also was a seaborne state. The coastal road, so confidently measured out on the *Itineraria*, is in reality largely a sea route.⁴⁴ It is only in this century that wheeled traffic has appeared widely in the Pontos, and only in this decade that it has been able to use a complete coastal road to Sinope (it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to travel the Paphlagonian shore). So, continuity of land meant little. Of the thirty expeditions recorded by Panaretos of the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90), twenty-four were made by sea and his six land journeys were performed in the immediate hinterland of Trebizond.⁴⁵

³⁹ G. Th. Kandilaptes, Γεωγραφικὸν καὶ ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς ἐπαρχίας Χαλδίας, in Χρον.Πόντ., 2 (21–22) (May–June, 1946), 505; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century monuments," pt. 4, 228.

⁴⁰ F. Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936; New York, 1970), 369; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century monuments," pt. 4, 243–52.

⁴¹ Strabo, *Geographia*, I. iii. 7; XII. iii. 12–15; Muhammad ben Muhammad al-Idrisi, trans. P. A. E. Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Recueil de voyages et de mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie, 6 (Paris, 1840), 393–94; B. Nedkov, *La Bulgarie et les terres avoisinantes au XII^e siècle selon la 'Géographie d'Al Idrissi'* (Sofia, 1960), 96–99.

⁴² Map in Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (*supra*, note 26), II, opposite p. 1616.

⁴³ W. Leaf, "The commerce of Sinope," *JHS*, 26 (1916), 1–10.

⁴⁴ K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916), cols. 639–50.

⁴⁵ A. Bryer, "Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond," *The Mariner's Mirror*, 52 (1966), 4.

Thus, the west Pontic-Canik Türkmen centers of the Kabadoğulları of the Halys delta, the Taceddinoğulları of the Iris delta, the Taşanoğulları of Hamza, and the Emiroğulları of Chalybia, which emerge after 1277 in Panaretos and Turkish sources, are shown (credibly enough) as spots in a largely Trapezuntine field in a recent historical atlas—except that they are placed in towns, two of which did not then exist.⁴⁶

But in west Pontos, at least, matters are more complicated. Here Greek settlement clung to the coast alone, which itself, exceptionally, became the *uc*, for it simultaneously offered winter grazing. In central Pontos, where Trapezuntine settlement penetrated inland, the situation was reversed, for the *uc* lay along the summer pastures. The west Pontic experience is unconventional, for it demonstrated how two states (or rather the empire of Trebizond and a nest of emirates) could coexist on the *same* territory, and how, in the absence of any major Türkmen leader or confederacy, the Grand Komnenos himself could assume a double role. At times, it is no exaggeration to say that he was simultaneously a Byzantine emperor and a Türkmen *melik* of a group of small emirates which he had a hand in creating. It is difficult to suggest how this situation can be depicted in a historical atlas, for Trapezuntines and Türkmens were doing different things on the same land, which they could equally claim. An attempt to illustrate this graphically is made in the map (*infra*).

West Pontos is called Canik, a puzzling name which is not geographical. Elsewhere I have attempted to show that the word is derived from the horse-men Tzannoi, who had vanished before the fourteenth century. But the Laz call themselves 'Chani,' and the peoples of the coast, Greek and 'Chani,' were, and are, popularly called 'Lazoi.' Hence Canik means the Pontos, or, more particularly, west Pontos in which the Türkmen emirates emerged. Like the term 'Rum,' it indicated a Christian land which had (here inconclusively) passed into Muslim hands.⁴⁷ It had a secondary, economic, meaning, for Canik seems also to have served as a synonym for *kışla*, winter pasture.⁴⁸ For some purposes Canik was still part of the empire of Trebizond. In the capital his subjects described their ruler as Grand Komnenos and Turks and Armenians would call him *tekmur*.⁴⁹ But in west Pontos the Grand Komnenos became, in ibn Şaddad's term, *melik* of Canik.⁵⁰ In this respect, and in this area alone, al Umari is right in concluding his important description of the empire of Trebizond with the observation that it resembled the Turkish

⁴⁶ D. E. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire, from earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century* (Leiden, 1972), map VIII. Terme and Ordu are 19th-century revivals.

⁴⁷ Bryer, "Laz and Tzan," pt. 1, 174, 195; pt. 2, 163–68; C. Cahen, "Ibn Sai'd sur l'Asie Mineure Seldjuquide," *Ankara Üniversitesi Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 6 (1968), 49: "les montagnes de DJANIK . . . sont habitées par un peuple indocile et rude, pratiquant la religion chrétienne."

⁴⁸ De Planhol, *Fondements*, 224, 236.

⁴⁹ J. P. Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt*, pt. 2, AbhMün, Hist.Kl., 4 (1) (1844), 106–7: Trapezuntine Armenian inscription of 1413/14 (incorrectly computed to 1415 by Fallmerayer), referring to the emperors of Trebizond as kyr and 'takhavor.'

⁵⁰ Cahen, "Quelques textes" (*supra*, note 2), 137.

principalities which surrounded it; indeed it was one.⁵¹ These propositions must be illustrated in detail.

Sinope may be discounted. Its fourteenth-century history is baffling and, despite his fame (as the first recorded Turkish frogman), we do not know who its *Gazi çelebi* was⁵²—except that he was not the husband of Eudokia, *despoina* of Sinope and daughter of Alexios II. But Sinope was a corsair emirate. The early Pontic Türkmen groups were, in origin, pastoral. These emirates of Trebizond in its guise as Canik are most conveniently taken geographically, from west to east, in more or less antichronological order.

The most westerly is Limnia (later probably centered on Çarşamba), in the alluvial delta of the Iris. At its mouth there had always been a *skala* and supply base—the classical Ancona and, I suggest, also the twelfth-century Kinte, where John Komnenos grazed his cavalry horses in the winter solstice of 1140, while campaigning against the Danişmendids. The *skala* finally became the Trapezuntine stronghold of Limnia, with a see and thirteen imperial fortresses; it figures on portulan maps until the sixteenth century.⁵³ Limnia

⁵¹ Al Umari, trans. Quatremère (*supra*, note 25), 379–80: “Le royaume de Trébizonde, qui appartient aux adorateurs de la croix, est un empire considérable, situé le long du rivage de la mer, sur un golfe demi-circulaire, formé par les eaux du Pont. Il se prolonge, d’occident en orient, sur la frontière du territoire occupé par des Turcs, sur cette côte que nous avons décrite. Placé au midi du pays de Roum, il a ses deux extrémités étroites, tandis que son milieu présente une largeur considérable. Il semblerait que, des deux côtés, on a promené un compas en dehors du centre de la circonférence, de manière à imiter la figure d’un fruit de mirobolan. C’est sous cette forme que Belban le Génois m’a tracé la carte de ce royaume. Suivant son récit, le souverain de Trébizonde est un prince grec descendu de Constantin, fondateur de la ville de Constantinople. Ce monarque s’assied sur un trône, porte la couronne, a des revenus dignes d’un roi, une cour nombreuse, et jouit, auprès du pape, d’une haute considération. Lui et tous ses sujets se distinguent par une extrême beauté; seulement, le prince aujourd’hui régnant a, comme son père, sur les reins une excroissance mince, allongée, proéminente, qui a la longueur et la largeur d’un pouce, et qui ressemble à une sorte de queue. On voit, dans le même pays, plusieurs personnes dont la conformation présente cette particularité. Lorsque Belban me fit ce récit, j’hésitais à le transcrire, attendu qu’il me paraissait peu vraisemblable; mais il me fut confirmé par Behadur-Abouami, et ensuite, successivement, par trois hommes voués à la vie religieuse. Alors je n’ai pas hésité à consigner le fait dans mon ouvrage, en en laissant la responsabilité à ceux dont je le tiens. D’ailleurs, la puissance de Dieu est infinie; il fait tout ce qu’il lui plaît, et crée, quand il veut, des objets inconnus aux hommes.

Suivant le témoignage du même Belban, les habitants du royaume de Trébizonde sont des hommes belliqueux et hardis. Leur pays est continuellement traversé par des voyageurs qui se dirigent vers la province de Krim, le désert de Kabdjak et les autres contrées du nord. L’empire de Trébizonde est plus vaste que la royaume des Kurdjes (la Géorgie), et plus important aux yeux des monarques chrétiens, attendu que la population est plus forte et plus brave. Le roi de Trébizonde porte, comme celui d’Arménie, le titre de Takafour. Il est d’une naissance plus illustre que l’empereur de Grèce actuellement régnant, et il s’attribue sur ce monarque une grande supériorité. Les soldats qui composent son armée, quoique peu nombreux et mal équipés, sont autant des héros, autant de lions redoutables qui ne laissent jamais échapper leur proie. Du reste, ce pays ressemble, sous tous les rapports, aux principautés turques qui l’avoisinent. Tel est le récit de Belban le Génois.” This Egyptian compilation was made in the period 1342–48; Belban was a former Genoese slave: F. Taeschner, *Al-Umaris Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke* (Leipzig, 1929). I have no comment on the tailed Grand Komnenoi (a tradition otherwise unattested), but see H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II (London, 1871), 244; and S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, III (Copenhagen, 1956), 138, no. F518.

⁵² H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325–1354*, II (Cambridge, 1962), 465–68; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 312, 321.

⁵³ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 61; Arrian, 22; Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, col. 646; Nicetas Acominatus (Choniates), Bonn ed. (1835), 45–46; Theodore Prodromos in PG, 133, cols. 1340–41; Idrisi (*supra*, note 41), ed. Jaubert, 394, trans. Nedkov, 98–99; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II. *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris, 1912; New York, 1971),



1. The Pontic Rain Forest.

"Forests there will be, where the red serpent can find no path . . ." *Dede Korkut*. Coniferous forest, receiving about 2,500 mm. of rain annually, from the monastery of Sonmela at about 1,600 m., looking south to the tree line at about 2,000 m., above which is the *Parcharin* of Larachanes (Larhan *yayla*), leading to the Pontic Gates.



2. Tzanicha (Canca).

"Fortresses there will be, that rub shoulders with the sky . . ." *Dede Korkut*. The *so-pirakosarpov* of the *akritic* Greco-Laz Tzanichites family in Chaldia, surmounted by two late medieval painted churches and overlooking the Trebizond-Tabriz winter route and the silver mines of Thia (later Argyropolis), looking east. Modern Gümü-şane is in the middle distance and the Pontic Alps in the distance.



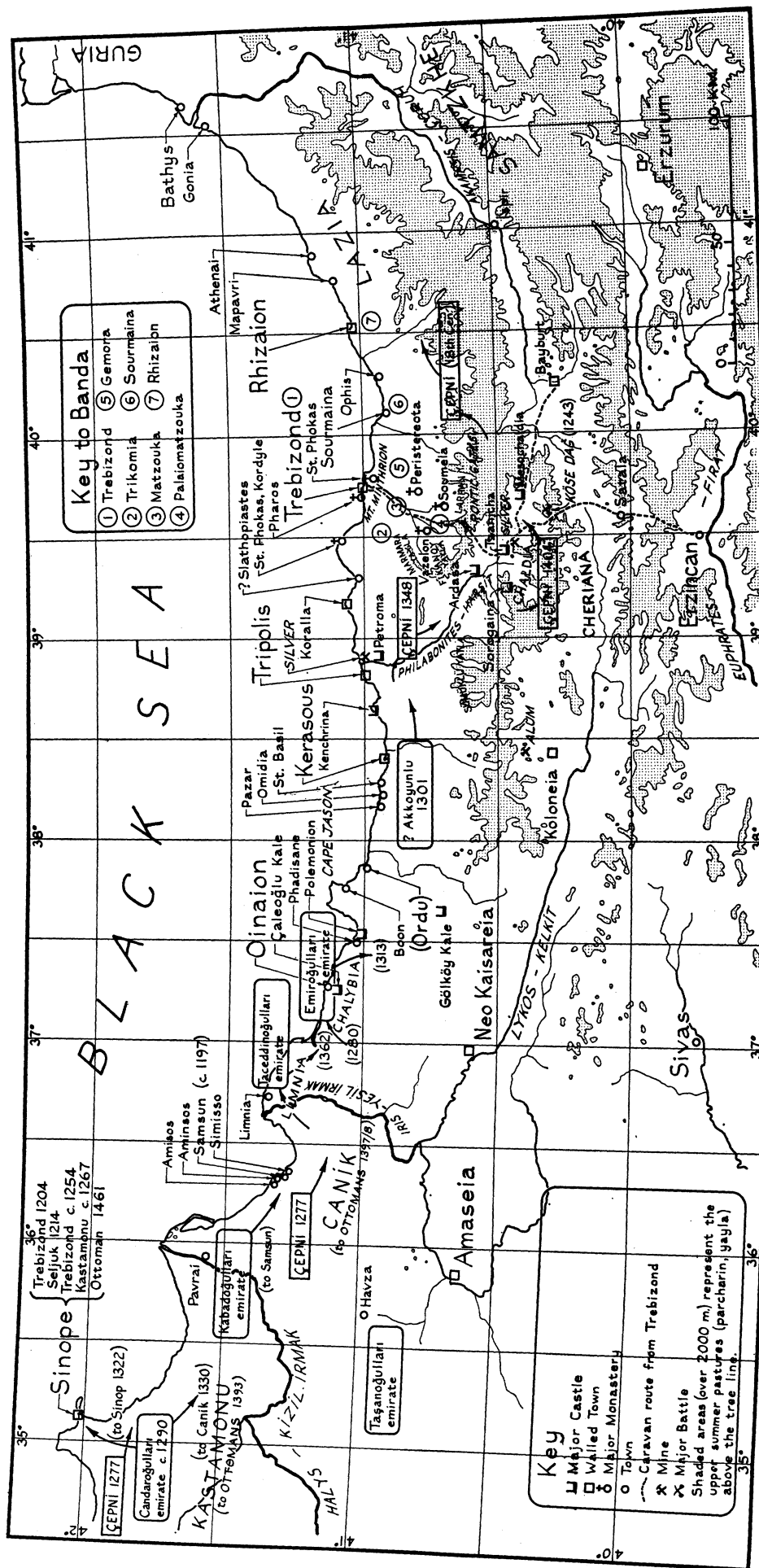
3. The Summer Pastures at the Pontic Gates.

“Bylae”: the principal summer pass on the Trebizond-Tabriz route, standing above the *Parcharin* of Stavri (İstavri *yayla*), at about 2470 m., looking north.



4. A Winter Emirate: Limnia.

“We went down into Rum, we wintered, we wrought much good and evil; Spring came, we went back again, *elhamdülillâh*.” *Yunus Emre*. Aerial view of the Iris (Yeşil İrmak) River delta, looking north from above Çarşamba to the Black Sea, about 20 km. away. Taşlıkköy (? Limnia) lies on the coast to the right (east), near the medieval mouth of the Iris, which now debouches to the left (west).



The Empire of Trebizond and Its Türkmen Neighbors (Map: Richard Anderson)

should be at the ruined village of Taşlıkköy, but today I can find no trace of it, Kinte, or Ancona among the fourteen modern villages of the delta, for a combination of malaria and the wandering Iris has removed them each in turn. However, the most important aspect of the delta is its rich grazing and its great green river, which climbs into the summer pastures (fig. 4).

Although Limnia was the last and lowliest of the suffragans of Amaseia, its bishops assumed the metropolitan rights of the inland city from 1317.⁵⁴ The Grand Komnenoi visited the place regularly; it was an administrative district (perhaps a *bandon*) with an imperially-appointed *kephale*, a safe place to incarcerate important rebels. But from the accession of Alexios III, imperial visits take on a certain consistency. The Emperor went there:

- from 22 September to late December 1351;
- from 19 December to soon after 25 December 1356;
- from soon after 6 January to early March 1357;
- from 6 December 1360 to about 20 March 1361;
- from the end of January to the end of May 1369;
- and in October 1379.

During this visit Alexios III “took control of Limnia” and married his daughter to a certain Taceddin *çelebi*, who had first sought a marriage alliance in June 1362. In 1384 comes a final reference to a bishop of Limnia and administrator of Amaseia,⁵⁵ and in 1386, when he was succeeded by his son Altamur (? I), Panaretos entitles Taceddin *çelebi* emir of Limnia.

What had been happening? In the words of the poet Yunus Emre, speaking for Türkmens further west and earlier in the century:

We went down into Rum, we wintered, we wrought much good and evil;
Spring came, we went back again, grace be to Allah.⁵⁶

As they do today, the shepherds of the interior come down for winter grazing in the Iris delta, much to the resentment of its fourteen villages. In the six visits by Alexios III, all timed for the winter grazing season, I propose that the Emperor was fighting a losing battle by trying to head off a similar Türkmen movement over three decades, 1351–79, when Limnia became a Trapezuntine ‘Plain of Jars.’ Taceddin may have assumed it to be his territory in 1362, when he solicited a marriage alliance; Alexios emphatically regarded

177, 178 note 1; A. Bryer, “The littoral of the Empire of Trebizond in two fourteenth-century portolano maps,” *Arch. Pónr.*, 24 (1961), 101–2. The problem, which has exercised historians of the Pontos since Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt* (*supra*, note 15), 303, will be further explored in the forthcoming study by Bryer and Winfield.

⁵⁴ F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, I (Vienna, 1860), 69–71; Vryonis, *Decline*, 291, 318.

⁵⁵ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, II (Vienna, 1862), 64–66. Metropolitan Joseph of Limnia was consecrated by Paul Tagaris, successive charlatan Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem and more-or-less genuine Latin patriarch of Constantinople, and was, not unnaturally, uneasy about the validity of his ordination.

⁵⁶ “İndik Rumu kışladık, çok hayr u şer işledik/Uş bahar oldu, geri goçtük elhamdülillâh.” De Planhol, *Fondements*, 224.

it as his as part of the eventual alliance of 1379. Yet, it was by then not his, although his daughter could still patronize a bishop there in 1384. A charter of 1432 shows that Greek Limnian refugees were settled in Magere (Mayer),⁵⁷ a high southerly village in Trikomia, one of the safe valley-*banda* of central Pontos. Alexios III had lost. Or had he? He was making his son-in-law Taceddin into the beginnings of a territorial prince, the best way to keep tabs on the Türkmens. He may have done more. In 1392–1419, when the Ottomans conquered Canik,⁵⁸ the Türkmen emirates were pushed east and, in the overspill, Taceddin's probable successor Altamur (? I)⁵⁹ found himself by 1404 not only sharing territory used by the emir of Chalybia and Grand Komnenos of Trebizond, but also a tributary of Timur. In 1461 there is mention of another Altamur, obviously not the same emir, but perhaps his son or grandson, and perhaps also a refugee. But this Altamur (? II) was the Grand *Mesazon*, the last prime minister of Trebizond.⁶⁰ Such was assimilation.

Chalybia lay to the east, closer to Trebizond, but became a client emirate earlier. Panaretos states, significantly, that when the Turks overran Chalybia in the 1280s, "all those *choria* became uninhabited"; there is in fact a near absence of Christian monuments there outside Oinaion (Ünye). Once again, the Türkmens harrassed before they could be settled. Bayram *beğ* (fl. 1313–32), first named of the Emiroğulları of Chalybia, attacked Trebizond itself. Unlike other Türkmens, the Chalybians aimed at towns early. In 1347 they took Oinaion, with its mountain road to Neokaisareia, and St. Andrew, on Cape Jason. Perhaps Alexios III took advantage of Bayram's death to stay in the monastery on Cape Jason during the winter grazing season of his son, the *hacı emir*, in January 1357, but the Emperor's Epiphany bag was only fourteen Hagarene heads. May 1357 found the Emperor patrolling his own summer pastures, and the emir had to postpone his retaliation until his flocks were safe on the coast again for the winter grazing. Then, on 13 November 1357, he broke into the Matzoukan valley-*bandon* from the west, bringing unexpected damage. It took the Emperor only eight months to produce his, by now traditional, solution, for on 29 August 1358, he despatched his sister Theodora (the only princess then available) to marry the *hacı emir*. In the week before

⁵⁷ Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles" (*supra*, note 35), 267¹²⁹.

⁵⁸ Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, eds. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, I (Ankara, 1949), 323. In 1415 Mustafa, brother of Sultan Mehmed I, was looking for help in Trebizond: B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1961), 264, no. 613 of 28 June 1415; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, II (Paris, 1959), 131–33, nos. 1563–64 of 15–18 January 1415.

⁵⁹ Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 109. W. Miller, *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), 75, makes him son of Taceddin and Eudokia.

⁶⁰ There is confusion over the identity of the last one, or two, Grand *Mesazontes*. N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucarest, 1971), 57, names a Kabazites as final Grand *Mesazon* of Trebizond, citing an enigmatic "Seconde chronique grecque," which I cannot trace. But Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed. (1843), 496, states that in 1461 the Kabazites chief was fighting as *Pansebastos* in the Chaldian mountains. Thus, even if Kabazites had held the office of *mesazon* before, David would have required another to head his government in the beleaguered city. *Ecthesis chronica and Chronicon Athenarum*, ed. S. P. Lambros (London, 1902), 26, also mentions Kabazites, but states that the last Grand *Mesazon* was Ἀλταμούριος. Miller, *Trebizond*, 105, suggests that the name "doubtless disguises the Muslim Artamir, son or grandson of Tadjeddin, emir of Limnia, the husband of Eudokia, and therefore a cousin of David."

she left Trebizond, Theodora had the chance of learning of Türkmen court practice from her sister Maria, six years married to an Akkoyunlu chief and then visiting the capital. The Chalybian alliance worked and state visits began. Oinaion seems to have been returned then. A source of iron and of the honey-conglomerate building stone of Trebizond, it remained in Trapezuntine hands until after 1404. In the winter grazing season of December 1361, Alexios III and Panaretos paid a state visit to the *hacı emir*'s "home castle" (δόσιπτόκαστρον), when "the Turks followed us in an almost servile fashion." At that moment, Alexios III was simultaneously Grand Komnenos of Trebizond and *melik* of Canik. Alexios had made the *hacı emir* a respectable home-castle owner, like his other fringe lords, the Kabazitai and Tzanichitai, in their castles. His Türkmens were beginning to behave like territorial princes. By the winter grazing season of late October 1368, Alexios III had the no doubt immense satisfaction of seeing two of his Türkmen sons-in-law, Taceddin of Limnia and Süleyman (successor to the *hacı emir*) of Chalybia, fall out—over castles and coastal lands, rather than over the summer pastures above. Taceddin was killed, but Süleyman went on to challenge Kerasous (Giresun) in 1396/97.⁶¹ Whether he actually took Kerasous (as Turkish sources state) is a matter of conjecture. Eight years later Clavijo paradoxically maintained that the then Trapezuntine frontier began at Tripolis (Tirebolu), 45 km. east of Kerasous, and that it reached three days west of Kerasous.⁶² The holdings of the monastery of the Pharos in Trebizond in 1432 certainly did not stretch as far as Kerasous. But Clavijo's paradox may allow one to guess at a kind of symbiosis of Trapezuntines and Türkmens in the area. The fortified monastery of the *Eleousa* on the island of Ares, opposite Giresun, traditionally held out against the Ottomans until 1468,⁶³ while in 1525 the population of Giresun Kale itself was 221 Christian, and only 31 Muslim households.⁶⁴ There is the same ambiguity in Chalybia, Clavijo's two or three days' journey west. Evliya *celebi* was to speak of Cape Jason and Boon (Bona, Leona, 'Wúna,' now Vona) that "the inhabitants are for the most part Greeks. . . . The mountains are interspersed with well-cultivated Greek villages. . . . The inhabitants are known by the name of Wúna Greeks and Turks."⁶⁵ The Wúna 'Turks' were perhaps a winter phenomenon. Three days' land journey west of Kerasous (Giresun), and past the lands of Altamur (? I), Clavijo revealed a curious situation in the former Chalybian capital, Oinaion. A Greek lord of the Trapezuntine Melesianos (? Melissenos)⁶⁶ family of Rhizaion, who was independently

⁶¹ H. H. Giesecke, *Das Werk des 'Azīz ibn 'Ardašīr Āstarābādī. Eine Quelle zur Geschichte des Spätmittelalters im Kleinasien* (i.e., Bazm u Razm) (Leipzig, 1940), 110; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 328.

⁶² Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 109; ed. Estrada, 73; Schiltberger, trans. Telfer, 41–43; Miller, *Trebizond*, 74–75.

⁶³ J. Bordier, "Relation d'un voyage en Orient," ed. Chrysanthos (Philippides) Metropolitan of Trebizond, *Ἀρχ. Πόντ.*, 6 (1935), 115.

⁶⁴ Gökbilgin, "Trabzon," 333.

⁶⁵ Efendî, *Travels*, trans. von Hammer (*supra*, note 14), II, 40.

⁶⁶ Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 108; ed. Estrada, 73, has "Meliseno" or "Melaseno," which Miller, *Trebizond*, 75, identifies with "the great Greek family of Melissenos, well known for its pious foundations on Mount Pelion. . . ." But they are otherwise unrecorded in Trebizond, while a Μελεσιάνος of Rhizaion is attested in 1432: Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," 265.¹⁰⁵

subject to Timur, held the town, its fortress, and an inland castle, Çaleoğlu Kale, in which a colony of about 300 Turks were settled—Schiltberger also appears to report that this precipitous castle, which carries a classical rock-cut tomb with inaccessible Byzantine paintings, was in Christian hands.⁶⁷ Yet, it is a good candidate for the *hacı emir*'s 'home-castle' of 1361—the others are Gölköy Kilise Kale, in the foothills inland, and the seaside Boloman (Polemonion) Kale, which encases a medieval domed cruciform chapel, which was not disturbed when it became a nineteenth-century Hazinedaroğlu palace. Whatever the exact status of the Trapezuntine emperor and emirs of Chalybia and Limnia who, by the fifteenth century, found themselves sharing the territory of Chalybia, their identity of interests was revealed when Mehmed II had to fight his way through the area after the fall of Trebizond on 15 August 1461—although it must be confessed that his army suffered as much from rainstorms as from "Wúna Greeks and Turks."⁶⁸

The process observable in Panaretos is, of course, the classic Byzantine (and many other agriculturalists') response to pastoralist neighbors. It had been the Byzantine method of taming the nomad Bulgars and, more recently, the grant of *pronoiai* to Türkmens had been, for the Nicaeans, a kind of solution. But in the Pontos one can see particularly clearly the effects of a (fairly) settled, albeit seaborne, Greek state upon non-territorial groupings which end up by sharing the same territories. If one wants to deal with such people, one must take them out of the summer pastures and lead them up the garden path to a 'home-castle' on the coast, where they happen to want winter pastures. One must give them a title, not just *emir*, but even Grand *Mesazon* and, to make doubly sure, one must plug one's own dynasty into their kinship network, generation after generation.

But in two cases the Grand Komnenoi were less deft. The first was with the Çepni, Panaretos' "Tziapnides" who are commonly confused with the vanished Tzannoi. Perhaps the Limnian and Chalybian Türkmens were Çepni, but Panaretos does not say so. The Çepni are found over a wide area of central Anatolia. One or more groups began working east along the summer pastures, occasionally raiding down the valleys, from Sinope in the early thirteenth century. They moved slowly. They were causing trouble at Samsun in 1277.⁶⁹ In 1348 their first known leader, Boz Doğan, the 'Grey Falcon,' joined an ill-fated coalition with the Turks of Erzincan and Bayburt and with the Akkoyunlu chief against Trebizond. During the next decades they took over the Philabonites (Harşit) valley, the westernmost and only valley of central Trebizond to virtually lose its Greek settlement. Here they began a relationship with the Akkoyunlu (whose summer pasture camp of 1367 seems to have been on Çepni territory), but the 'White Sheep' apparently absorbed their lands and finally, under Uzun Hasan, attempted to crush them. The Grand

⁶⁷ Telfer, *Johann Schiltberger* (*supra*, note 29), 41–42; Bryer and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century monuments," pt. 3, 248 note 1.

⁶⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, in R. F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne, 1959), 226.

⁶⁹ Ibn Bibi, trans. Duda (*supra*, note 5), 321; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 327–35; Bryer, "Laz and Tzan," pt. 1, 191–93.

Komnenoi found the Çepni difficult to deal with, either because Trapezuntine alliances with the Akkoyunlu leaders and Limnian and Chalybian emirs prevented them from forming relationships with a common enemy; or because, after Boz Doğan, the Çepni do not seem to have had an identifiable dynasty with which to intermarry. Alexios III was reduced to using force, and in an important campaign at the end of the winter grazing of 1380, he tackled the Çepni along the lower and western reaches of the Philabonites, moving from the coast about 75 km. inland in all. He ravaged the Çepni, winter settlement before reaching a possibly Trapezuntine summer pasture, Simikle (Sümüklü *yayla*) at 2919 m. above sea level. But the Çepni remained; the Philabonites valley became the Çepni *nâhiyesi* after 1461, when Ottoman officials seem to have dealt gingerly with the area, although Mehmed II gave Çepni *beğs timars* round Trabzon. Chalkokondyles regarded the entire coast, from 'Colchis' to Amastris (Amasra), as being infested with Çepni, and it is quite likely that they roamed round Kerasous, making a fourth force with claims to the area in the fifteenth century. From the Philabonites they spilled south into the passes of Cheriana by 1404, where Greeks of the Kelkit valley were still complaining of being pestered by them in the nineteenth century. But it was not until after 1461 that they leapt across the heads of the central Trapezuntine valleys to continue their slow drift east, moving along the summer pastures and raiding down the valleys. There were fierce struggles in eighteenth-century Lazistan and they troubled the Christian Santaioi and apostate Oflus until recent times, eventually reaching the Russian border (which advanced to them) in 1915. From thirteenth-century Sinope to twentieth-century 'Colchis' is a Çepni migration of 600 km. in seven hundred years (map).⁷⁰

With the fourth and greatest of the pastoralist groups, the future Akkoyunlu, the Grand Komnenoi were outstandingly successful in making alliances, but failed to make tame emirs out of them or their Karakoyunlu rivals. Panaretos calls them Turks after (all commentators assume) Amida (Diyarbakir), and Panaretos is our only near-contemporary source for their origins. But Panaretos, who last refers to the 'Amitiotai' by that name under the year 1358, died in, or just after, 1390.⁷¹ The 'Amitiotai' did not reach their future capital of Amida until 1401 at the earliest. Panaretos' 'Amitiotai' were 300 km. and five mountain ranges away from Amida. Cahen first pointed out the problem;⁷² here is a possible solution.

The first apparent member of the dynasty to emerge in documentary evidence is a 'Koustouganēs,' who attacked Kerasous in 1301. Alexios II "deaden his pride" and rebuilt the walls of Kerasous.⁷³ 'Koustouganēs' appears

⁷⁰ Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 65, 496; Gökbilgin, "Trabzon," 329–30 (in the early 16th century the Çepni had 52 villages, 1,892 taxpayers, and 1,674 households); Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 120 ('Chapenies'); Ioannides, 'Ιστορία (*supra*, note 32), 252–53; S. Athanasiades, 'Ιστορία καὶ Λαογραφία τῆς Σαντᾶς, I (Salonica, 1967), 33–59; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 327–35; Bryer, "Laz and Tzan," pt. 1, 191–93.

⁷¹ Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 23.

⁷² Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 363–64; *idem*, "Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār Bakr au quatorzième siècle," *JA*, 243 (1955), 91–92.

⁷³ S. Sgouropoulos, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, I (St. Petersburg, 1894), 431–37.

to have attacked from the immediate west, where the mountains come right down to the sea and where, for over 24 km., no classical name survived the Middle Ages; the stretch is near devoid of medieval monuments. But, by 1318, two new place names emerge; the obviously Turkish Pazar (now Pazar-suyuköy, by Piraziz, 18 km. west of Giresun), and a place generally called 'Omidia' between Pazar and St. Basil (now Ayvasil, 10 km. west of Giresun).⁷⁴ 'Omidia' can no longer be located, but probably lies on the site of later Akköy (now Bulancak). Is 'Omidia' where the 'Amitiotai' sprang from?⁷⁵ I propose, very tentatively, that the remote origins of the great fifteenth-century Akkoy-unlu federation that controlled eastern Anatolia and northern Persia under its 'Little Turk' should be sought in a modest area just west of Kerasous at the end of the thirteenth century.

The 'Amitiotai' were initially tiresome. There were summer skirmishes in the pastures in August 1340 (when they were chased off), and in June 1343 (when they retaliated). By then the 'Amitiotai' had begun their Çepni relationship, and in June 1348 the combined Türkmens established a potentially dangerous alliance with the Turks of Erzincan and Bayburt. It failed, but the Türkmens clearly needed detaching. Alexios III, therefore, took a step which is now familiar. He was probably following a policy initiated with Sinope (and, perhaps, Erzincan) by Alexios II, and he may well have been influenced by the success of his ally and kinsman, John VI Kantakouzenos, in marrying his daughter to Orhan, six years before.⁷⁶ But it was the first time that a Byzantine (let alone a Trapezuntine) princess had been offered a Türkmen, and it profoundly affected the Oğuz imagination. Ballad 6 of the *Dede Korkut* cycle describes how Hanlı *hoca*, the Akkoyunlu leader, sent his son *Han* Turali to fetch an Amazon bride. Naturally, only the *tekefur* of Trabzon had such a daughter and, naturally, Turali had to undergo three labors which would have daunted Hercules before he could snatch his bride: to down a black bull, a royal lion, and a vicious camel in the *maydan* of Trebizond. When Turali unveiled himself, however, the Trapezuntine *hatun* had other ideas; she

⁷⁴ W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, SBWien, Phil.-Hist.Kl., 124 (8) (1891), 80; K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolanen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1969), 648; A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs* (Liège-Paris, 1947), I, 238; II, 33; Bryer, "Littoral," 105-6. Despite the fact that it appears as ἡ Μήδεια in a late portolan (and even as Νικομήδεια in another), Tomaschek's suggestion that it is in fact ὁ Μηδείας [λιμήν] must be no more than a happy notion, for the Greek definite article cannot be expected to be so firmly attached to a name (especially in a confusing gender). Kretschmer's opinion that the place was in fact the Boz Tepe of Ordu is equally farfetched. Balabanes argues improbably that Bulancak was originally Περαντλάκιν, a diminutive of Pera. It is possible, I suggest instead, that Omidia could be the otherwise unidentified settlement of Ἀμμόδιον beach in the district of τοῦ Ποντιᾶ, mentioned by Lazaropoulos in connection with the events of 1222/23, and not heard of again, suggesting that it was lost to the Trapezuntines at an early stage. G. Balabanes, Πόθεν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Πουλαντλάκης τοῦ Πόντου, in Ποντιακά Φύλλα, 3 (27) (1938), 108-11; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 122.

⁷⁵ In discussion, Mme Ahrweiler proposed that the 'Amitiotai' derived from Ἀμιττός (Amisos). This would be a possibility were it not for the fact that this form is otherwise unattested throughout the history of the city, which was known increasingly from the tenth century as Ἀμινσός, a form which Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 69, 75, uses exclusively.

⁷⁶ Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destan d'Umur Pacha* (Paris, 1954), 106-8; P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris, 1957), 175, 221; M. Izeddin, "Notes sur les mariages princiers en Orient au Moyen Âge," *JA*, 257 (1969), 144-45.

"was watching from the palace and she went weak at the knees, her cat miaowed, she slavered like a sick calf. To the maidens at her side she said, 'If only God Most High would put mercy into my father's heart, if only he would fix a brideprice and give me to this man! Alas that such a man should perish at the hands of monsters!'" Turali disembowled the bull; there were alarming scenes in the *maydan* when "The lion roared, and every single horse in the square pissed blood"; and the Trapezuntines tried to nobble the camel. Turali won his princess; they rode off. But the *tekmur* of Trabzon repented his loss and sent his army to retrieve his daughter. She took matters in hand and sliced up six hundred Trapezuntine warriors. Turali's manhood was slighted; they duelled and the *hatun* shot a headless arrow "that sent the lice in his hair scuttling down to his feet." They were reconciled and Turali and the princess of Trebizond lived happily ever after.⁷⁷

For the historian, Turkish heroic poetry is more than usually tricky material. But here is an almost certain (if rare) link, for it corresponds with (though may not actually represent) Panaretos' laconic entry that Alexios III married his sister Maria to Fahreddin Kutluğ *beğ* of the 'Amitiotai,' son of Turali, in August 1352. Note the discrepancy of names; it is unlikely that Turali himself had married a Trapezuntine and Panaretos is certainly to be preferred to *Dede Korkut*. But the ballad is right in singling out the alliance for communal memory, for it was itself successful and initiated an Akkoyunlu-Trapezuntine understanding, which remained the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the Grand Komnenoi for over a century. A program of state visits ensued after 1352. Maria visited Trebizond again in 1358; Alexios III was prepared to assist Kutluğ *beğ* during the summer grazing of 1363; the emir visited Trebizond and was much honored there in 1365; and the Emperor returned the visit in 1367.

Up to eleven princesses of Trebizond are known to have married Muslims, eight of them Türkmens; indeed only five are known to have married Christians.⁷⁸ By contrast, thirteen male Grand Komnenoi took Orthodox brides, Trapezuntine, Byzantine, and Georgian—with the possible exception of the parricidal John IV, who, rather unconvincingly, maintained that he had married a Turk in the interests of piecemeal proselytization (she was perhaps a concubine, for he already had a Georgian wife).⁷⁹ Medieval Orthodox and Muslim Türkmen custom is directly opposed on how marriages are arranged.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Extracts from *Dede Korkut* (*supra*, note 14), trans. Lewis, 17–18, 117–32. See also Mélikoff, "Géorgiens et Arméniens," 18–28; M. Fahrettin Kirzioğlu, *Dede Korkut. Oğuznâmelevi* (Istanbul, 1952), 117–18; E. Rossi, *Il "Kitab-i Dede Qorqut"*, ST, 159 (Vatican City, 1952), 31–33, 180–93, 219.

⁷⁸ Na, d. of Alexios I = Andronikos I Gidon; Anna, d. of Alexios III = Bagrat V–VI; Maria, d. of Alexios IV = John VIII Palaiologos; ? Na, d. of Alexios IV = George Branković; ? Na, d. of Alexios IV = Niccolò Crispo of Santorini.

⁷⁹ Alexios I = Na, d. of Axouchos (Axuch); Manuel I = Rusudan; Andronikos I Gidon = Na, d. of Alexios I; John II = Eudokia Palaiologine; Michael = Na, d. of Constantine Akropolites; Alexios II = Na, d. of Beka Jaqeli; Basil = Eirene Palaiologine; Alexios III = Theodora Kantakouzene; Manuel II = Eudokia (Gülhan), d. of David VI–VII and Anna Philanthropene; Alexios IV = Theodora Kantakouzene; Alexander = Maria Gattilusio; John IV = Na, d. of Alexander the Great; David = Maria of Gotthia and Helena Kantakouzene. Tafur, trans. Letts (*supra*, note 22), 131.

⁸⁰ Islamic law speaks of a dowry (*mahr*) but no bride-price. Where, however, bride-price was a local custom, it seems to supersede the dowry: e.g., the bride-price used by medieval Türkmens and Mongols is today common throughout Anatolia. Christian-Muslim marriages are rare enough, even

Orthodox princesses would certainly have brought the Grand Komnenoi thirteen dowries; did eleven Muslim sons- and brothers-in-law bring eleven bride-prices too? Could the Grand Komnenoi have had the best of both worlds, twenty-four dowries and bride-prices for the price of five?

It is possible that both systems operated simultaneously, and almost certain that Trapezuntines and Türkmens regarded the marriages in different lights. It looks as if Alexios III ceded Limnia as a dowry in 1379, but the *hacı emir* of Chalybia may also have made Oinaion his bride-price for Theodora. Certainly, in the last and most famous of these alliances (another Theodora with the Akkoyunlu Uzun Hasan in 1458) there was a territorial dowry in Trebizond itself. But Uzun Hasan had paid his bride-price: the promise of protection against the Ottomans. At the time it seemed a good bargain.

It is difficult to make out if there were the sort of religious objections which were advanced in similar cases of infidel marriages in Constantinople. Brides remained Christian and were escorted by a *nymphostolos*, but there was no *stephanokrator* (as when the future Manuel III married Eudokia-Gülhan, daughter of Bagrat V-VI in 1377),⁸¹ and marriages took place on Türkmen lands. Almost certainly the Orthodox ceremony was confined to the *prokypsis* of the famous marriage of Orhan and the Kantakouzene. It would be especially interesting to know why popular opinion made Alexios III refuse Taceddin's first request for a bride in 1362; the emir had to wait seventeen years for Eudokia, and only married her after much parleying. It was perhaps not a religious objection, for there had been infidel marriages before in Trebizond, and the case of Eudokia was to show that there was no objection to a Türkmen's widow going on to marry a Byzantine dignitary. It may have been connected with Alexios' long struggle with Taceddin for Limnia, or perhaps unease about what Türkmens expected of such alliances. In 1361 Alexios regarded his brother-in-law, the *hacı emir*, as some sort of vassal; but when the Emperor went to help his other brother-in-law, Kutluğ *beğ*, two years later, was it in answer to the summons of a reverse form of vassalage? The Palaiologoi had an unhappy experience of serving Ottoman masters thus.

İbn Battuta's vivid picture of the status of a Christian princess in a Muslim household (a sort of permanent High Commissioner in an allied court, local

in Cyprus and the Lebanon, to preclude a regular solution to the bride-price/dowry contradiction, but in the Caucasus coexistence of faiths may perhaps have led the Orthodox Ossetes to abandon the dowry in favor of the bride-price (*kalim*) of the Sunni Chechen-Ingush; there is no evidence of a similar tendency among Pontic Greeks. As Busbecq makes clear, the Ottomans were in an intermediate position by the 16th century, having both the dowry (for formally married wives, giving them some independence) and the bride-price (for lesser consorts, a mark of subordination). So Orthodox rulers were anxious to provide princesses married to Ottomans with a dowry (*proika*), in specie in the cases of Theodora Kantakouzene = Orhan (1346); the sister of Stefan Lazarević = Bayezid I (1394); and Maria/Mara of Serbia = Murad (1345). The Grand Komnenoi no doubt also gave dowries so as to guarantee the security of their princesses, but unlike the Ottomans, their Türkmen sons-in-law would probably not have given dowries themselves. See Vryonis, *Decline*, 274; J. F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of the Caucasus* (Oxford, 1940), I, 207, 267; E. S. Forster, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* (Oxford, 1968), 28, 118-19; Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină (1341-1462)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 39, 59, 257, Bonn ed. (1834), 17, 33, 205; *EI*, s.v. *mahr*. I am grateful to Mr. George Rakintzakis and to Dr. David Kerr for discussion of the problem.

⁸¹ Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 78.

protectress of Christians with her own establishment)⁸² is known in detail to have been paralleled only by the case of Theodora, wife of Uzun Hasan. But what one side might regard as a High Commissioner, the other might regard as a hostage. On a smaller scale, the princesses of Trebizond enjoyed a similar status in the Türkmen courts, but of them only Theodora is known to have been an *ulu hatun* (principal wife), and none are known to have enjoyed the considerable privileges of being the mother of an emir. As there had not been in the eleventh century, there may now have been a prejudice against rulers of part-Christian origin, and of Muslims who came into contact with Trebizond only Uzun Hasan is known to have had a Christian mother.

Orthodox rulers of Trebizond were unable to marry Muslims, but may have felt that they were indebting local emirs by giving them Christian wives; by subordinating the wives, local emirs may have thought to make them some sort of mark of vassalage. It was probably left as ambiguous as Panaretos is on the subject, for, so far as Alexios III was concerned, the ends amply justified the means. His alliances, and his diplomatic hospitality compound on Boz Tepe, where he could receive his six Muslim brothers- and sons-in-law, worked. By the middle of his reign, the Türkmens had ceased to be a menace to the Grand Komnenos *melik* of Canik, and Alexios could concentrate upon saving Chaldia and Cheriana, to the south, from the Turks of Erzincan and Bayburt.

But if the marriage issues were confused, both Trapezuntines and Türkmens shared certain notions of dynastic and family structure. On the highest plane was a system of dynastic government, what might be termed extended and interlocking ruling families stretching from France to the *kiriltays* of Central Asia.⁸³ The Grand Komnenos did not quite make this level, but shared its assumptions, for the very term 'Grand' Komnenos became more than a name, or even an epithet: it was an entitlement to rule shared even by daughters who married Türkmens, such as the Grand Komnene Maria; a sort of Trapezuntine equivalent of the 'title' of the nameless *hacı emir* of Chalybia.⁸⁴ Similarly, the name Kantakouzenos was once sold as a sort of entitlement to rule.⁸⁵

On the next scale is the 'large family,' a grouping of families often acknowledging a common and usually mythical ancestor. Pontic Greeks were long used to this type of society on their eastern and southern marches, beginning with the Bagratids of İspir and Bayburt, who eventually turned Caucasian history into a sort of animated genealogy, where clan status,

⁸² Ibn Battuta, trans. Gibb (*supra*, note 52), II, 488–89, 498–503.

⁸³ See V. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols* (Paris, 1948).

⁸⁴ I am not here concerned with the *origins* of the title, on which there is an immense bibliography, ending with D. Polemis, "A note on the origin of the title 'Μέγας Κομνηνός,'" *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 18–23; O. Lampsides, "Bessarions Zeugnis über den Titel Μέγας Κομνηνός," *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 30 (1971), 386–97; B. Hemmerdinger, "Μέγας Κομνηνός, Calque de Hohenstaufen," *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), 33–35 (perhaps the most bizarre and unconvincing of all explanations); and O. Lampsides, "Μέγας Κομνηνός-Hohenstaufen," *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), 544–45.

⁸⁵ D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, DOS, XI (Washington, D.C., 1968), xi.

rather than office or land, was the primary entitlement to rule. The Laz and Akampsis valleys certainly understood the system, and perhaps the Tzanichitai and Kabazitai shared it too. The arrival of the Türkmens, with their 'large families,' may therefore be expected to have reinforced Caucasian influences to affect local Trapezuntine Greek views of society. In the fourteenth-century miracles of St. Eugenios, a Byzantine judge finds that he cannot tell Trapezuntine litigants apart, because they are all called Eugenios.⁸⁶ Their patron Saint was energetically promoted by the Grand Komnenoi; was relationship with St. Eugenios, φιλόπολι καὶ φιλόπατρι,⁸⁷ being promoted too, as an explanation for the cohesion of Greek valley-*bandon* society, on the neighboring Türkmens model? Uspenskij went so far as to speculate that the hagiographer "had in mind the origin of one clan with a single clan name."⁸⁸ But the notion must be dismissed, for the fact is that Eugenios was one of the rarest of given names and the charters show no evidence that the valley families were any more than the usual Greek nuclear ones found in the west—among other factors, the modest size of the *gonikeia*-crofts saw to that.⁸⁹

Of lesser marriages we know little, and the picture is distorted because there is no Türkmens source equivalent to the Acts of Vazelon. The Acts reveal a number of Turkish surnames or nicknames,⁹⁰ but no Muslim given name; indeed the first two certain Turkish settlers on central Trapezuntine soil do not come until 1432: a *paroikos* of the Pharos called Mahmud and a smallholder of Sourmaina called Arslan *beğ*.⁹¹ It is difficult to know what faith persons such as 'Echiseni,' daughter of 'Corcha,' and 'Yerena,' daughter of 'Murti,' recorded by the Genoese in late thirteenth-century Chalybian Phadisane (Vatiza, Fatsa), professed.⁹² But in Matzouka, Turkish surnames and Christian given names may offer occasional evidence that children of some Turks took their Christian parents' faith.

The confrontation with the Türkmens led to social pressures which are familiar elsewhere.⁹³ Manpower, not land, was unexceptionally at a premium and stock was relatively expensive. The return on a small, one-*choinix* field was 5 aspers; and on a larger one, 8 aspers. The price of a whole lamb was 4–6 aspers; of a second-hand copper cauldron, 8 aspers; of a saddle, 11–15 aspers; and of a riding horse, 150–400 aspers. But a Circassian girl slave, aged eleven, fetched 600 aspers, and aged eighteen, 900 aspers; while the

⁸⁶ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, 141.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁸⁸ Acts of Vazelon, CII–CIII.

⁸⁹ Only two people called Eugenios appear in the Acts; the name does not appear in Panaretos at all. On the size of Byzantine rural families of this period, see D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Etudes Rurales*, 5–6 (1962), 161–86; and Angeliki Laiou, reported in *DOP*, 27 (1973), 328.

⁹⁰ E.g., Ἰωαννάκης ὁ Ἀτλουπᾶς; Βασίλειος ὁ Τουρκοθεριανός; Βασίλειος ὁ Χάλαρος; Ἰωάννης ὁ Τζακαρόπουλος (? Çakar); Θεόδωρος ὁ Τζαμιώτης (? Camii); ὁ Τζαμουλῆς (? Çamuha); ὁ Τζερεκέρης (? çeri); Μαρούλα ἡ Τζιλινινοπούλου (? *celebi*); Βασίλειος ὁ Τουρκοθεόδωρος. Acts of Vazelon, *index*.

⁹¹ Laurent, "Deux Chrysobulles," 268¹⁸², 269¹⁸¹; Μαχμούτης; Ἀσλανπέκης.

⁹² G. I. Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281–1290)* (Bucharest, 1927), 172; *idem*, *Commerce génois (supra*, note 12), 172–73.

⁹³ Vryonis, *Decline*, 241, 257 note 706, 307–14.

ransom of a sister of a hieromonk (age and condition unspecified) from the Türkmens was fixed at 850 aspers.⁹⁴

The Türkmens may well have contributed to this imbalance, partly because they needed manpower even more. As elsewhere, they raided to kidnap; Panaretos never records the taking of Türkmens prisoners, but he and the Acts of Vazelon provide ample evidence that the Türkmens kept their Greeks. The charters suggest that the scale of Trapezuntine losses, although still relatively small, was sometimes enough to turn the balance of a crofting economy. Through minor raids and inexplicable disappearances of shepherds on the pastures in May, there was a steady drain of manpower which bankrupted widows and, in an extreme case, halved a village's population.⁹⁵ In a classic case as early as 1261, Maria Tzarchalina (? Çarkas) left her patrimony to Vazelon monastery, for her salvation and for the expiation of her sins and of those of her parents. The formula is conventional, but she added another reason: "I have five sons made prisoner; if they return, they should be given their shares; if they do not come back, this inheritance, mountain and river, gardens and trees, land cultivated and fallow, shall go to the monastery."⁹⁶ The monastery kept the land she could no longer cultivate.

The appearance of Αἰχμάλωτος ('refugee' rather than 'prisoner') as a surname,⁹⁷ and of an exiled bishop of Satala (Sadağ) in Matzouka,⁹⁸ and the fact that most Trapezuntine monasteries, even in the suburbs of the capital, were fortified,⁹⁹ are telltale signs of Türkmens pressure. More important is whether the Türkmens economy influenced the Trapezuntine, and whether pastoralists turned agriculturalists into transhumants. But it is more than likely that the Pontos was already practicing a dual agricultural and transhumant economy. Panaretos reveals that Pontic Greek had the two vital terms for the system: χειμαδιά (*kişla*); and, singularly, παρχάριον (*yayla*).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Vazelon Acts, nos. 84 of 1263, 90 of the 13th century, 79 of 1260, and 107 of the 13th century; the English accounts in note 13 *supra*; Moretto Bon, *Notaio in Venezia, Trebisonda e Tana (1403-1408)* (Venice, 1963), 11-12, 16.

⁹⁵ Trigoliktos, in Vazelon Acts, no. 106 of the 13th century.

⁹⁶ Vazelon Acts, no. 38 of 1261; Germaine Rouillard, *La vie rurale dans l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1953), 165-66.

⁹⁷ Vazelon Acts, no. 106 of the 13th century; Alice-Mary Maffry Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasius (1289-1293; 1303-1309) and the Church," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 14 note 6.

⁹⁸ Vazelon Acts, no. 53 of 1256.

⁹⁹ E.g., the Pharos (Laurent, "Deux Chrysobulles"), and the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond. Fortified monasteries are a feature of *Dede Korkut* and the *Melikdanişmendname*; de Planhol, "Signification" (*supra*, note 11), 235.

¹⁰⁰ The Armenian equivalent for *yayla* was *leri* (cf. the bishopric and village of Leri in Chaldia); G. Dumézil, *Contes Lazes* (Paris, 1937), 23. There is a substantial bibliography on the *Parcharin* (e.g., G. Bapheides, 'Ἐξοχὴς τῆς Τραπεζούντος, in *Χρον.Πόντ.*, 1 [9] [May, 1944], 186-88), but beyond A. A. Papadopoulos' derivation from παρχάριον ('ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Ποντικῆς Διαλέκτου, II [Athens, 1961], s.v.), there has been no discussion of the origin of the term, which I suggest may be derived from the Paryadres-Barkar-Bulğar Dağ of the Pontic Alps: E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Brussels, 1935), 181 and note 5; V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes d'Arménie*, I (Paris, 1869), 83; II (Paris, 1880), 82, 299; J. Laurent, *Byzance et les turcs seldjoudides* (Nancy, 1913), 43; N. Asim, *Celalüttin Harezemşah* (Istanbul, 1934), 131; J. Markwart, *Südarmanien und die Tigrisquellen* (Vienna, 1930), 17*-18*, 21*-23*, 230, 404, 411; Bryer, "Laz and Tzan," pt. 1, 192 note 124. I am grateful to Dr. V. L. Ménage for discussions on the subject. Among Greek agricultural terms which have passed into modern Oflu Turkish, Mr. Michael Meeker kindly tells me of *fo(r)man* = the Θανάρις of Vazelon Acts, no. 62 of the 13th century (the haystacks on "hatstands" peculiar to the Pontos).

Summer pastures, some part of the imperial demesne, are regularly named in the charters. The scale of Trapezuntine movement was surely not so extensive as the *Türkmen*, and most Trapezuntine summer pastures could be reached within a day of the permanent winter settlement. A cross section of the Upper Matzouka (Palaiomatzouka), just below Hamsiköy in the Greek heart of the Pontos, will illustrate how the dual grazing and agricultural economy worked. Taken almost due west-east, from Mount Boudoxe to Mount Karakaban, the section was:¹⁰¹

<i>Name</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Height</i>	<i>Distance from Mt. Boudoxe</i>
Mount Boudoxe	Summer pasture below	2300 m.	—
Koleles'	Summer settlement	1500 m.	1500 m.
Tsimprika	Permanent village	400 m.	4000 m.
River Prytanis	Fields above	300 m.	4300 m.
'Imperial Highway'	Fields above	400 m.	4800 m.
Giannakanton	Permanent village	500 m.	5500 m.
Choumerixa	Summer settlement	1700 m.	8500 m.
Mount Karakaban	Summer pasture below	2400 m.	10500 m.

Not surprisingly, there was considerable penetration of Turkish names and terms in Trebizond. Turbaned¹⁰² Trapezuntine soldiers "make use of the sword and bow, the like of what arms the Turks employ, and they ride after the fashion of these last"¹⁰³ (with a short stirrup). Exceptionally in the Byzantine world, *hatun* (χατούννα)¹⁰⁴ became an acceptable Greek alternative for a *despoina*, and by the fifteenth century the Grand Komnenos Alexander was locally called *İskender* (Σκαντάριος).¹⁰⁵ The *tekfur* would receive the ritual Easter acclamations in the *maydan* (Μαϊτάνιν)¹⁰⁶ and his *delal* (νυκτοταλάλιος, night-watchman) would patrol the *burç* (Πουρτζίος, castle);¹⁰⁷ his *protospatharios* was the *emir candar* (ἐμυρτζιαντάριος, captain of the guard);¹⁰⁸ his *akolouthos* was the 'Horchî' (χουρτζής, "the page who carries the imperial bow before his majesty");¹⁰⁹ and his chief falconer may have been an *emir doğan* (ἐμυρατοχανακάν-

¹⁰¹ This area will be described in detail, and places identified, in the forthcoming study by Bryer and Winfield.

¹⁰² D. Talbot Rice, *Haghia Sophia*, fig. 121.

¹⁰³ Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 115.

¹⁰⁴ Vazelon Acts, no. 166 of the 15th century; cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), 343–44.

¹⁰⁵ Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 437.

¹⁰⁶ Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75.

¹⁰⁷ H. Grégoire, "Les veilleurs de nuit à Trébizonde au XIV^e siècle," *BZ*, 18 (1909), 490–99.

¹⁰⁸ J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices* (Paris, 1966), 341–42, 348; Laurent, "Deux Chrysobulles," 261⁵⁴, 267¹⁵¹, 269²⁰²; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 68. I am grateful to Professor Speros Vryonis, Jr., for discussion of the term.

¹⁰⁹ A term whose etymology (not, apparently, Georgian or Turkish) eludes me. Clavijo, ed. Estrada, 75–76; trans. Le Strange, 112; Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 341–42, 345. Although the list published by Verpeaux contains, exceptionally, the *emir candar* and "Vrcho," he insists that it does not represent a Trapezuntine order of precedence; if it were, it would indeed raise difficulties, but Verpeaux overlooks the fact that it is inserted in Cod. Marc. gr. 608 immediately after the unique MS of Panaretos, and is in the same hand. That this is, therefore, a Trapezuntine list is a strong possibility.

τος).¹¹⁰ It is therefore tempting to find in the civil wars of the 1330's and 1340's, in which the *emir candars* took a prominent part, at the height of the Türkmen menace, a struggle between Türkmen and Trapezuntine for the government. The politics are complex, but in fact none of the factions in these social and political disturbances (which reflected those of Constantinople) can be said to have had anything to do with the Türkmens. Indeed, apart from the possible exception of the Grand *Mesazon* Altamur (? II), and the career of the Genoese Jeronimo de Nigro (Grand *Mesazon*, 1425; Grand Vestiaris, 1445–49),¹¹¹ none of the 192 other known office-holders¹¹² in the history of the empire of Trebizond have other than Pontic or Byzantine names—unless the famous George Amoiroutzes is given ancestry in an emir's court. Turkish (and Laz) influence upon Trapezuntine society, economy, and administration was unexpectedly superficial. Instead, Trapezuntines took care to keep up with developing forms of Byzantine government,¹¹³ to be even more Roman than the Romaioi they called themselves. As Chalkokondyles remarked, the Grand Komnenoi preserved “Hellenic manners and the Hellenic speech,” and only intermarried with neighboring barbarians “so as not to have trouble through the ravaging of their lands by them.”¹¹⁴

Of the interplay of faiths there is even less to record, for the Pontos breaks one of what may be called the “Vryonis Rules” for other areas in Anatolia, which is that the missionary activities of the *derviş* orders came providentially on the heels of the collapse of the structure of the Orthodox Church.¹¹⁵ By the time that the *dervişes* came, their zeal was long abated and they established only one known Pontic *tekke*, at Tirebolu (Tripolis).¹¹⁶ While the Church of Trebizond lost its suffragans of the ninth-century *limes* far to the south, the Pontos is the only area which (in the face of all other Anatolian experience) actually had to create new bishoprics from the fourteenth century. The burden of Wächter's study of the fate of Byzantine Anatolia is a relentless litany of abandoned sees.¹¹⁷ But in the Pontos new bishoprics appeared: there was Limnia (fl. 1317–84); the Chaldia of 1390 was the Kanis of the late fifteenth century, to be refounded from about 1624;¹¹⁸ Cheriana (also a Roman Catholic see *in partibus*) is recorded in 1461;¹¹⁹ Ophis (Of) emerged briefly in the late fifteenth century;¹²⁰ and finally the Matzouka valley itself

¹¹⁰ Vazelon Acts, no. 166 of the 15th century; but see Laurent, “Deux Chrysobulles,” 269¹⁸⁶ (γρεπ-κοφώλεον).

¹¹¹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* (*supra*, note 26), I, 34; III, 246.

¹¹² Listed in Bryer, doctoral thesis (*supra*, note 12), II, 171–96.

¹¹³ For example, the overhaul of the judicial structure in Constantinople in 1296–1329 was closely imitated in Trebizond, with its Supreme Judges of the Imperial Court: Vazelon Acts, nos. 131, 121 of the 14th century; 133 of 1381; 134 of 1415.

¹¹⁴ Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 461–62.

¹¹⁵ Vryonis, *Decline*, 363–402.

¹¹⁶ V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I (Paris, 1890), 55.

¹¹⁷ A. H. Wächter, *Der Verfall des Griechenthums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1903).

¹¹⁸ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Trapezountiaka,” 679; Laurent, *DHGE*, XII, cols. 280–81; H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum*, AbhMün, Philos.-philol.Kl., 21 (1901), 635.

¹¹⁹ Laurent, *DHGE*, XII, cols. 632–33.

¹²⁰ Gelzer, *loc. cit.* in note 118.

was awarded the bishopric of Rhodopolis in 1863.¹²¹ Meanwhile, the coast sheltered ancient and distinguished refugees from the interior: Satala in 1256; Amaseia, which ended up, via Limnia, at Samsun; and Neokaisareia, which ended up, via Oinaion (perhaps on nearby Metropol Burunu), at Ordu.¹²² It is possible that the weight of influence was, if anything, Trapezuntine upon Türkmens. The earliest manuscript formula (of the late thirteenth century) for the abjuration of Islam and entry into Orthodoxy, comes from the Pontos.¹²³ The Türkmens of the region were *alevî* (heterodox), and some remain so; they "worshipped the shah of Persia."¹²⁴ Their religious opinions were, one suspects, twilit, enabling the later 'crypto-Christians' of the area to slip in and out of them with ease. The Muslim Armenians of Hemşin were baptizing until very recently, and the modern visitor to certain Pontic sites soon after the feast of the *Koimesis* will find himself shambling through decomposing animal sacrifices.

An obvious explanation for Trapezuntine integrity in the face of the Türkmens is that of numbers. Many pastoralists may have escaped enumeration in them, but the *defters* of the 1520's show that even after some Ottoman settlement, the Pontic population was still overwhelmingly Christian.¹²⁵ Many of the rules which had applied to the earlier Byzantine collapse in Anatolia no longer held in 1461. The Ottoman conquest of Trapezuntines and Türkmens was swift and relatively painless. A sizeable proportion of monastic lands were not sequestered, and the three major inland monasteries (Peristereota, Soumela, and Vazelon) still retained forty-four of their villages in 1890. When your landlord is an abbot, you think twice about apostasy, although Soumela, at least, faced long-deserved Greek peasants' revolts in the nineteenth century.¹²⁶ Of suppressed monasteries, the Chrysokephalos cathedral's lands became the *Fatih Evkaf*, and the Pharos lands (nearly fifty holdings along 222 km. of coast from Gonia west) were widely transferred to the *Evkaf* of Gülbahar—Maria of Doubera (Livera, now Yazlik, on the Soumelan estates), who, in the last and most exalted of Trapezuntine-Muslim marriages was wife of Sultan Bayezid II and mother of Sultan Selim. Both *Evkaf* survive; their archives should be interesting.

So the people of Halt, their Orthodox Church, and an exceptionally large part of its economic basis survived, not initially threatened by Muslim missionaries, conversion, or large-scale Turkish settlement. The balance does not seem to have changed until the late seventeenth century, when a new breed of coastal *derebeys* emerged, turning Trapezuntine Greeks into *doulo-paroikoi*. Many fled to new nucleated settlements on the marginal lands

¹²¹ Chrysanthos, Ἑκκλησία (*supra*, note 24), 683–89.

¹²² Bryer, Winfield, and Isaac, "Nineteenth-century monuments," pt. 4, 128–29.

¹²³ Vryonis, *Decline*, 442 note 122.

¹²⁴ F. Taeschener, "Mehmed Aschyqs Berichte über Tschepnis," *ZDMG*, 76, N.F., 1 (1922), 141, 282–84.

¹²⁵ Gökbilgin's figures, "Trabzon" (*supra*, note 22), suggest a 91–94 percent Christian and a 9–6 percent Muslim population in the 1520's.

¹²⁶ E. Th. Kyriakides, Ἱστορία τῆς παρὰ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς πατριαρχικῆς σταυροπηγιακῆς μονῆς τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Σουμελά (Athens, 1898), 204–59.

below the summer pastures, where they encountered the Türkmens once more. For the first time there were neo-martyrs, and churches were sequestered during the breakdown of Ottoman authority in the Pontos.¹²⁷

Thereafter, the Anatolian rules are that Greeks generally lost their language before their faith, their faith with their *Rûmi* status, and their daughters to Islam. The Pontic experience was almost the opposite and Greek even spread as the prestige language in some Turkish areas. It is only in this century that the last vestiges of the medieval confrontation of Trapezuntines and Türkmens have vanished. The descendants of the Çepni (a people not locally remembered with favor) may well be sorting hazelnuts in the factories of Giresun, or picking tea in Rize; Greek Trapezuntines have been dispersed in the Exchange of Populations; Turkish Trapezuntines in former Greek villages have substituted American maize (sweetcorn) for wheat¹²⁸ and now conduct their transhumance in well-organized caravans of lorries, which, bursting with women, children, and long-haired cattle, career across the windy *yaylas*.

APPENDIX I: GREEKS AND TÜRKMENS IN PANARETOS

Much of the argument in this paper depends upon a close interpretation of the text of Panaretos and upon the accuracy and logic of identifications of names in it (where Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, has been widely consulted). A translation of the relevant passages is therefore given below. References are to the page and line numbers of Lampsides' edition of Cod. Marc. gr. 608, fols. 287^r–312^r (*supra*, note 22); Panaretos' dating system is simplified and indiction numbers are given in Roman numeral capitals.

- 63³ And Kaloioannes Komnenos [John II, 1280–97] . . . died in Limnia on Friday 16 August, X, 6805 [1297]. But during his reign the Turks seized Chalybia [Ünye district] and launched a great invasion [into Trebizond proper], so that all those places became uninhabited.
- 63¹⁵ The Emperor *kyr* Alexios [II, 1297–1330] set out against the Turks in September 6810 [1301]; he found Κουστουγάνης¹²⁹ at Kerasous [Giresun] and overwhelmed him, slaughtering many Turks.
- 63²⁴ Παρίδμης [Bayram] seized the τῆργα [*çergi*, tented stalls]¹³⁰ in the evening of Tuesday 2 October 6822 [1313].
- 63²⁶ In 6827 [1318/19] the Sinopitans started a great fire which entirely devastated the beauties of the city [of Trebizond], both inside and outside.

¹²⁷ Bryer, "Tourkokratia," 30–54.

¹²⁸ J. Humlum, *Zur Geographie des Maisbaus* (Copenhagen, 1942), 29, 90; cf. Baddeley, *Caucasus* (*supra*, note 80), I, 255.

¹²⁹ Unique mention of the name, possibly 'küçük ağa,' or even *küstah* = 'insolent' (which Stephen Sgouropoulos' infuriatingly vague, but contemporary, encomia claim he was). Moravcsik's tentative identification with the Boz Doğan of 1348 is chronologically improbable. Janssens is mistaken in following Miller in computing Panaretos' date to 1302. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας (*supra*, note 73), 431–37 (cf. Triantaphyllos Papatheodorides, 'Ανέκδοτοι στίχοι Στεφάνου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου, in 'Αρχ.Πόντ., 19 [1954], 262–82); Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (*supra*, note 104), II, 170; E. Janssens, *Trebizonde en Colchide* (Brussels, 1969), 93; W. Miller, *The Last Greek Empire (of the Byzantine Era, 1204–1461)* (London, 1926; ed. A. C. Bandy, Chicago, 1969), 33; Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente* (note 49 *supra*), pt. 2, p. 15**; S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Rai(l)es* (Athens, 1973), 57 note 1.

¹³⁰ Possibly tented market booths, such as Bessarion described in the Trebizond bazaar. I. T. Pampoukes, Ποντιακά ποικίλα, in Χρον.Πόντ., 1 (3) (November 1943), 74–75; S. P. Lampros, Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, in Νέος Ἑλλ., 13 (1916), 187; also published as a monograph (Athens, 1916), 45.

- 64¹² Παριάμης [Bayram] brought a large army as far as the Ἀσώματος [in Palaiomatzouka, now Hamsiköy],¹³¹ and a great number of Turks were slaughtered and their host fled, and they even took many Turkish horses, on Sunday 30 August 6840 [1332].
- 64³⁰ But on Friday 5 July 6844 [1336], Σιχασάνης [Şeyh Hasan-i Küçük, died after 1340], son of Ταμαρτάσης [Temürtaş, died 1327/28^{131a}], came to Trebizond; and there was fighting at the palisade (Ἀχάντακας) of Saint Kerykos and on Mount Minthrion [Boz Tepe]; and through the favor of God, he was turned back by a deluge of rain and fled, but Αὐτουράμης [Abdürrahman], son of Ρουστόμης [Rustem], was killed.
- 65²⁹ About August of that same year [1340], our army marched to the summer pastures (Παρχάριν) and plundered the Ἀμιτιῶται, taking much booty; but the sons of Dolinos were killed.
- 66⁵ ... on Wednesday 4 July [1341], the Ἀμιτιῶται Turks came, and the Romaioi were pushed back without battle and many Christians were slaughtered and all Trebizond was burnt down, inside and outside, and many of the people—women and children too—were burnt to death. After this disaster the stench of burnt horses, livestock, and men caused the Sudden Death (αἰφνίδιος θάνατος).
- 67¹⁷ In June 6851 [1343], the Ἀμιτιῶται came to war and returned empty-handed.
- 68⁶ In 6855 [1347], Saint Andreas [probably on Cape Jason] and Oinaion [Ünye] were captured.
- 68¹³ On 29 June, I, of that year [1348], numbers of Turks came upon Trebizond—Ἀχχῆς Ἀἰναπᾶκ [ahi Ayna beg] from Erzikain [Erzincan], Μαχμάτ Εἰκεπτάρης [Mehmed ...]¹³² from Paipert [Bayburt], Τουραλίπεκ [Turali beg] from the Ἀμιτιῶται, together with Ποσδογάνης [Boz Doğan] and the Τζιαννίδες [Çepni], and they fought for three days, and fled injured and crestfallen, losing many Turks on the way.
- 70⁹ On 22 September of the same year, 6860 [1351], we set out for Limnia ... against Konstantinos Doranites, who was exercising the Headship there, ... and after three months we came back again.
- 70²⁰ In the same year, 6860 [1352], the Emperor's sister, *kyra* Maria the Grand Komnene, went away to marry Χουτλουπέκης [Kutluğ beg], son of Τουραλίη [Turali], who was emir of the Ἀμιτιῶται, in August.
- 71¹⁶ Around August of the same year, 6863 [1355], Ioannes Kabazites, Duke of Chaldia [roughly the modern *vilayet* of Gümüşhane], marched out with his army and conquered Cheriana [Şiran-Uluşiran] and took it; at this time Sorogaina [Suruyana Kale] was liberated and joined the imperial dominions.
- 71²⁶ On Friday 27 November, IX, 6864 [1355], we set out—through diabolic collusion—with the Emperor [Alexios III, 1349–90] against Cheriana [Şiran-Uluşiran]. And at first we ravaged, we laid siege, and we took prisoners, but at about the sixth hour we abandoned in a disorderly flight when a few Turks pursued us. Indeed, some fifty Christians were slaughtered and destroyed then, and Ioannes Kabazites, Duke of Chaldia, was captured, and if the Lord had not been with us, I myself [i.e., Michael Panaretos] should have been lost; but by the favor of God my horse was strong, and following close behind the Emperor we were free and reached Trebizond after three days.
- 72⁵ On 19 December, X, 6865 [1356], we went with the Emperor to Limnia, and held the feast of Christmas at Kerasous [Giresun], and we celebrated Epiphany at Iasonion [Cape Jason, Yasun Burunu] when fourteen Turks were slain. We went back to Limnia and returned, and got to Trebizond in good health, having spent three months in all.

¹³¹ I have hitherto followed Chrysanthos and Lampsides in identifying this "Incorporeal One" with the church of the Archangels, Platana (Akçaabat), but because otherwise it is not given this epithet (which is, anyway, in the singular), and on geographical grounds, now think it much more likely that it can be identified with the Asomatos in Upper Matzouka, part of a 13th-century imperial gift to Vazelon, in Act no. 104. Ballance, Bryer, and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century monuments" (*supra*, note 26), pt. 1, 258; Chrysanthos, Ἐκκλησία, 503; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 118.

^{131a} Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, s.v. the names Hasan and Temürtaş as Çepni leaders; they were in fact Çobanlıs: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 302; *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. J. A. Boyle, V (Cambridge, 1968), 409–15.

¹³² Unidentified in Moravcsik, but see Fallmerayer, "Original-Fragmente" (*supra*, note 49), pt. 2, 80: İktidar = power; "Erkebdar" = "Grossknie."

- 72¹⁴ In May, X, 6865 [1357], the Emperor went up to the summer pastures (Παρχάριν) with an army and marched round the whole of the summer pastures.
- 72¹⁶ On Saturday 11 November, XI, 6866 [1357], the *despoina* of Sinope, *kyra* Eudokia, daughter of *kyr* Alexios [II, 1297–1330] the Grand Komnenos, arrived.¹³³
- 72¹⁹ On Monday 13 of that month [November], XI, of that year 6866 [1357], Χατζλυμύρις [the *hacı emir*], son of Παϊράμης [Bayram], invaded Matzouka [Maçka]—that is to say from Palaio-matzouka [Hamsiköy] as far as Dikaisimon [Cevizlik-Maçka]—with numerous warriors, and ravaged and abducted many people, livestock, and goods, through the unpreparedness of our guards.
- 72²⁶ On Wednesday 22 August, XI, 6866 [1358], the δεσποινάχατ (*despoina hatun*), *kyra* Maria, sister of the Emperor, who was married to Χουτλουπέκης [Kutluğ *beğ*] the Ἀμιτιώτης, came to Trebizond.
- 72²⁹ On Wednesday 29 August, XI, 6866 [1358], *kyra* Theodora, daughter of the Emperor *kyr* Basileios [1332–40], left to marry the emir Χατζλυμύρις [the *hacı emir*], with *kyr* Basileios Choupakas, the Scholaris [*Provestiarios*, 1355–58], as bridal escort (νυμφοστόλος).
- 73³ In April, XIII, 6868 [1360], the Emperor went up to Chaldia and built The [fortress of the] Cuckoo (Τοῦ Κούκου); and Χοτζιαλατίφης [*hoca Latif*] moved up from Paipertios [Bayburt] bringing three hundred cavalry, on which occasion Ioannes Kabazites lost the Headship.
- 73¹⁴ On 6 December of that year 6869 [1360] . . . the Emperor went to Limnia and stayed there for three months and a half and came back again.
- 73²⁴ On Friday 23 July, XIV, 6869 [1361], Χοτζιαλατίφης [*hoca Latif*],¹³⁴ the ruler (κεφαλή) from Paipertios [Bayburt], brought 400 selected soldiers and penetrated Matzouka [Maçka] toward Lacharenes [Larhan, now Akarsu, at 1250 m.] and Chasdenichas [Gizenica, Upper Chortokopin, Hortokobubala, Yukarihortokop, now Yukariköy]. The Matzoukaitai, on the other hand, surprised some two hundred Turks and carried off the majority, together with many arms and horses, and decapitated this Χοτζιαλατίφης [*hoca Latif*], and on the following day marched in triumph with their heads through all Trebizond.
- 73³¹ On 13 December we went to Chalybia with the Emperor, to the home fortress (ὄσπιτό-καστρον) of Χατζλυμύρις [the *hacı emir*], son of Παϊράμης [Bayram]—or rather, he joined us after reaching Kerasous [Giresun]. We went to Kerasous from Chalybia by land, and the Emir Χατζλυμύρις and the Turks followed us in an almost servile manner (μικροῦ δεῖν δουλικῶς): this was in XV, 6870 [1361].
- 74³ In October, XV, 6870 [1361], Ἀχχὶ Αἰναπάκ [*ahi Ayna Beğ*] descended from Erzigka [Erzincan] and besieged Golachas [? Kolaşa] castle for sixteen days with siege engines and violent petards. But without God nothing can be achieved, and he retired shamefaced and empty-handed
- 74¹² (In March, 1362, the Imperial Family retired to Mesochaldia [Kouazi, Kovans] because of the plague.) On its return from Chaldia the Imperial Family did not enter Trebizond and the citadel, because of the raging violence of the Death—for it was June—but it camped in Saint John the Sanctifier on Mount Minthron [Boz Tepe]; and then an envoy came from the τζαλαπῆς Τατζιατίνης [*celebi Taceddin*], seeking a marriage alliance. But some people came almost to rebelling against the Emperor.
- 75⁴ . . . on 15 August [1363], we went to the aid of [the Emperor's] brother-in-law, Χουτλουπέκης [Kutluğ *beğ*], son of Τουραλῆς [Turali], but we did not help because the Turks got infected

¹³³ It has hitherto been thought that this Eudokia was the widow of the Gazi *celebi* of Sinope and subsequently took the veil as the nun Euphemia in the Theoskepastos, Trebizond; considerable literature, based upon misunderstandings by Zambaur and Fallmerayer, has accumulated on the subject. The problem will be discussed at length in Bryer's and Winfield's work (*supra*, note 6). Briefly, Eudokia cannot have been the widow of the Gazi *celebi*, who died between 1324 and 1332 (his tomb in Sinope bears no date), but may have been married to the Candarid, Adil *Beğ* ibn Yakub (1345–?), who is known from coin inscriptions. Eudokia-Euphemia was a nun of St. Gregory of Nyssa, Trebizond, not of the Theoskepastos, and is most unlikely to have been a Grand Komnene. Eudokia's career is therefore obscure before 1357, and unknown thereafter.

¹³⁴ Κακὸς Ὀλατούφης, in N. Banescu, "Quelques morceaux inédits d'Andréas Libadénus," *Byzantis*, 2 (1911–12), 390.

with the Sudden Death,¹³⁵ and we marched back to Trebizond again after twenty-seven days.

- 76¹ On 14 July, III, 6873 [1365], the Emperor's brother-in-law, the emir Χουτλουπέκης [Kutluğ beğ], visited this Fortunate City of Trebizond with his wife, *kyra* Maria δεσποινάχατ [despoina hatun], the Grand Komnene, and met the Emperor and was received into the palace, and after encamping his tents around Saint John the Sanctifier [Boz Tepe] for some eight days, and being paid great honors, he departed in peace again.
- 76⁷ In the following year the Emperor made an expedition to the summer pastures (Παρχάριν). And we—being more than two thousand foot and cavalry altogether—marched from Spelia [İspela, now Ocaklı, at 850 m., 3 km. east of Fikanoy *yayla*, 3 km. west of Hava, 7 km. west of Maçka] to Phianoë [Fikanoy *yayla*, at 1919 m., 20 km. south of Akçaabat, 10 km. west of Maçka] with him and on past Gantopedin and Marmara, we went by Saint Merkourios to Achantakas;¹³⁶ and after spending four days with the emir, we returned in June, V, 6875 [1367]
- 76¹⁷ [Later in summer, 1367] ... the Emperor went up into the summer pastures of Larachan [Akarsu, at 1250 m.], to Limnion [? near the Kolatdağ Pass, at 2400 m.], and then went off as far as Chaldia.
- 76²⁴ ... the raid which the ἀζάπικα [azap, sipahi]¹³⁷ boats made on the Araniotai [Ares Island, Puga, Giresun Adasi] [before 19 July, 1368]
- 76³¹ In March of the same year 6876 [1368], Γλιτζιασθλάνης [Kiliç Arslan] invaded and besieged the places belonging to us in Chaldia, and the Emperor then marched up there at the head of his army.
- 77³ On Epiphany, January, VII, 6877 [1369], Golachas [? Kolaşa] was deceitfully captured by the Turks, and because of this Chaldia was devastated; some of its inhabitants perished in the fighting and some in the treacherous cave there.
- 77⁷ Around the end of January of the same year, 6877 [1369], the Emperor sailed to Limnia with a fine fleet, and returned after spending a period of four months.
- 77¹⁰ In May, VIII, 6878 [1370], the Emperor set out to the summer pastures (Παρχάριν) in the district of Marmara, with some few men. And on Tuesday the 21st of the same month, they suddenly came upon a force of Turks—some five hundred cavalry and three hundred

¹³⁵ D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972), 225.

¹³⁶ In the map attached to H. Kiepert, "Der Verbreitung der griechischen Sprache im Pontischen Küstengebirge," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 25 (4) (1890), 317–30, Phianöe pastures are placed too close to the western ridge of the Matzouka-Prytanis valley, and Gantopedin is apparently equated with the Lavra castle (and fortified chapel) of Vazelon, near Hava (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *FHIT*, I, 119), although it should also be a pasture. The route of this expedition is important because, if it can be worked out beyond Fikanoy *yayla*, it should lead to Kutluğ beğ's camp. One possibility is that Gantopedin represents the Haşka *yayla*, at 2150 m., that Marmara is the *yayla* of Mimera (now Erikli, attested in 1371 and 1432), that Saint Merkourios is in Trikomia (now the Kalenima Dere) and that Achantakas (which is not the *chandax* of Saint Kerykos) is the Achantakas attested in 1429 (Ahanda, now Kavaklı, near the coast, 2 km. northwest of Akçaabat). This makes a round tour of about 40 km., but leads straight into the densely populated Trapezuntine coastal *bandon* of Trikomia, and hardly to an Akkoyunlu camp. It is more likely that from Fikanoy Alexios followed the *yayla* watershed at the heads of the valleys onward past Tonya and the Horosdağ, southwest to Kürtün, Suma Kale, and the Harşit-Philabonites valley. From the pastures of Phianoe this would have entailed a round trip of about 80 km. It would have brought him into the known lands of the Çepni, a principal Akkoyunlu federate.

¹³⁷ The term is usually taken to indicate specifically *Ottoman* pirates and hence the first Trapezuntine encounter with the Osmanlıs (in, e.g., Miller, *Trebizond*, 66), but at this date is much more likely to represent Sinopitan or local Türkmen corsairs. In what is perhaps his most egregious flight of scholarship, Grégoire erected a Greco-Turkish emirate of Ares, but his proposed state (which would have extended the entire 180 × 150 m. of the walled island) must, sadly, be dismissed, if only on epigraphic grounds. H. Grégoire, "Notes épigraphiques. X, Michel Comnène, émir d'Arane," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 52 (1909), 12–17; F. Cumont, "Notes sur une inscription d'Iconium," *BZ*, 4 (1895), 101–5; P. Wittek, "L'építaphe d'un Comnène à Konia," *Byzantion*, 10 (1935), 505–15; and 12 (1937), 206–11; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (note 1 *supra*), 210; Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, pt. 2, p. 91.

foot. The Emperor's following was about a hundred horsemen and the Emperor joined battle and gained the victory by force of arms and pursued them; and he sent back here some Hagarenic heads and their banner.

- 77²⁹ On 13 January [1373], the Emperor set out against Cheriana [Şiran-Uluşiran], and our forces were routed when a great deal of snow had fallen and a violent storm had come upon them; one hundred and forty Christians were killed, some as sword fodder and some—rather more than half—died of the cold. . . .
- 78⁸ On Sunday 16 April, XII, 6882 [1374], Golachas [? Kolaşa] was taken by the Chaldaioi and restored to the Emperor's dominion; but the enemy recaptured it immediately.
- 78³⁴ After much discussion and exchange of embassies between the Romaioi and the Mousoulmanoï—I mean between the Emperor and Τατζιατίνης τζιαλαπῆς [Taceddin *celebi*—the Emperor set out on 14 August, II [1379], with two great warships and two boats, with his daughter, *kyra* Eudokia. And we sailed as far as Kerasous [Giresun]. But a message arrived from Trebizond that Χλιατζιασθλάνης [Kiliç Arslan] was about to invade the district around Trebizond. The Emperor left his daughter in Kerasous and returned to Trebizond with the nobles and he strengthened the citadel and set the country in order. Around the end of September he set out and, collecting his daughter in Kerasous, went as far as Oinaion, where he met the *celebi*, and on 8 October, III, 6888 [1379], he betrothed his daughter, *kyra* Eudokia, to him; and at this time the Emperor took control of Limnia.
- 79¹² In February the Emperor set out against the Τζιαπνίδες [Çepni] by land and sea. And about Sunday 4 March, III, 6888 [1380], he divided his army into two sections. He sent some six hundred footsoldiers away from Petroma [Bedrama Kale, on the east bank of the Harşit, 5 km. from the coast], and the Emperor himself took command of the cavalry and another very large party of footsoldiers, crossed the country of those who live all along the upper course of the Philabonites River [Harşit Dere] up to their winter camps [χειμοδιό]; and he destroyed their tents and he slaughtered and he burnt and he set free many captives of ours, liberating σῖμύλικα [?],¹³⁸ and he turned back and halted for a short while at Σθλαβοπιόσσης [? the coastal Büyük Liman of modern Vakfikebir]. The six hundred who had set out from Petroma made a raid into Kotzauta [apparently around Kürtün and Suma Kale] and massacred and ravaged and burned; and whenever they came to grips with the Turks who were pursuing them, as they fought their way down to the coast, many of the Turks fell. The Romaioi expected to meet the Emperor, but reached the shore first, fighting hard and slaying as they went. When they got to Sthlabopiastes beach and did not find the Emperor there, as they had arranged, they were a little inclined to let themselves be pushed

¹³⁸ This is the only word in Panaretos which has presented serious difficulty. It is unaccentuated in Cod. Marc. gr. 608, fol. 309r, top. There are three possibilities: (1) that ἀσημικά is intended, but Cod. Marc. gr. 608, fol. 309r, which is very legible, does not say so; (2) that it is a latinizing 'simultaneously,' which would fit grammatically, but not phonetically, and is an otherwise unattested neologism; and (3) that it is a place name. On geographical grounds I favor the *yayla* and now ruined village of Σιμικλή or Σιμηκλή (now Sümüklü), attested as Christian in 1717 and 1733 (when it was associated with Kürtün), and in 1779 (when Chrysanthos, its parish priest, venerated the Gospels of Şebinkarahisar). The place lies 44 km. northeast of Şebinkarahisar and 9 km. southwest of Kürtün and the Harşit Dere and, therefore, fits as the extreme limit of Alexios' expedition of 1380 and of possible Greek settlement in the area then. Settlement need not have been continuous between 1380 and 1717, for Simikle may have been recolonized from the Tsite (Çit) valley during the flight to the highlands of the late 17th century. One Tsite village was traditionally linked with Platana (Akşaa-bat) on the coast; elsewhere I have assumed that this entailed an 80 km. transhumance via Trebizond, but the Harşit valley and Simikle would have afforded a more convenient passage. I. T. Pampoukes, Ποντιακά, 2. Τοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ πρωτονοταρίου Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παναρέτου, περὶ τῶν τῆς Τραπεζούντος βασιλείων, τῶν μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν, ὅπως καὶ πότε καὶ πόσον ἕκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν (1204–1426) (Athens, 1947), 25; Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 44, 93; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, IV (St. Petersburg, 1899; Brussels, 1963), 299; N. Bees, Ἀφιερώματα καὶ λειτουργικαὶ συνδρομαὶ Ποντίων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, in Ἀρχ.Πόντ., 14 (1949), 136; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century monuments," pt. 4, 177–78, 240; E. C. Colwell, *The Four Gospels of Karahisar*, I (Chicago, 1936), colophon no. 41; S. Papadopoulos, Διορθώσεις εἰς τὸ Τραπεζουντιακὸν Χρονικὸν Μιχαήλ Παναρέτου, *BNJbb*, 6 (1928), 19; P. I. Melanophrydes, Τὸ Κιουρτούν, in Ποντιακά Φύλλα, 2 (12) (1937), 6–7; Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, pt. 2, p. 99.

back and some forty-two Romaioi fell. The Turkish men, women, and children who died numbered over one hundred.¹³⁹

80¹² On Wednesday 24 October, X, 6895 [1386], Τατζιατίνης [Taceddin] emir of Limnia [Çarşamba district], son-in-law of the Emperor, moved against the other son-in-law of the Emperor, son of Χατζιμύρις [the *hacı emir*], called Σουλαμάμπεκ [Süleyman *beg*],¹⁴⁰ of Chalybia, with an army of twelve thousand men, invading Chalybia, when Taceddin was the first to fall and he was cut to pieces and died there; and some three thousand of his followers were slaughtered and the rest fled, abandoning their equipment—they lost seven thousand horses and countless arms.

81⁹ On Saturday 4 September, IV, 6904 [1395], the *despoina kyra* Eudokia¹⁴¹ the Grand Komnene arrived from Constantinople at Saint Phokas [Kordyle, now Akçakale] She brought with her some brides And they entered Trebizond on Sunday, the following day, in a shower of rain

¹³⁹ The geography of the campaign will be discussed in the forthcoming study by Bryer and Winfield. Some identifications depend upon those of a somewhat similar campaign fought over the same area by Şeyh Cüneyd of Erdebil and the Grand Komnenos John IV in the 1430s: Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 464; W. Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd* (Ankara, 1948), 19–22.

¹⁴⁰ There are three problems here: (1) Janssens, following Miller, names Χατζιμύρις as Hacı Omar, but -μύρις is not a Byzantine form for Omar and I agree with Fallmerayer and Izeddin that Χατζιμύρις is a name-title, *hacı emir*; (2) Panaretos can be read to mean that Süleyman was the name of either the *hacı emir*, or of his son; Lampsides is alone in apparently assuming the former, which would imply that the usually meticulous Panaretos gave a name to the *hacı emir* only upon mentioning him for the fifth time, leaving his son nameless; so I agree with all other commentators in regarding the Süleyman who attacked Giresun in 1398/97 as son of the *hacı emir*; and (3) there is the question of Alexios III's relationship with this Süleyman. He and Taceddin are separately described as γαμβρός of the Emperor. In Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 75⁴, γαμβρός is used as 'brother-in-law,' but in all other ascertainable cases (including that of Taceddin, with whom Süleyman is coupled), the chronicler uses it as 'son-in-law.' The *hacı emir* was indeed brother-in-law of Alexios III, and γαμβρός here might only describe his son's indirect relationship with the Emperor. But Panaretos has more elaborate (if rather vague) terms to describe relationships like this: e.g., 61³ for what is actually 'first cousin once removed on the father's side,' and 78¹⁷ for what is actually 'great-uncle of a sister-in-law.' So I infer that Alexios III married an unknown daughter to emir Süleyman of Chalybia before 1386. Janssens, *Trebizonde*, 116; Miller, *Trebizond*, 60 (a daughter of Alexios III "marrying Hadji-Omar's son, Suleiman Bey ..."); Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, 86; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 216–17, 285, 343 (where no transliteration is offered); Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt* (*supra*, note 15), 196; *idem*, *Original-Fragmente*, pt. 2, p. 67; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 328; Izeddin, "Notes sur les mariages princiers" (*supra*, note 76), 156 note 72; C. Toumanoff, "On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Tamara," *Speculum*, 15 (1940), 299; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* (*supra*, note 85), 143–46.

¹⁴¹ Apparently the widow of the emir of Limnia. Eudokia's career may be reconstructed thus. Her parents, Alexios III and Theodora Kantakouzene, were born on 5 October 1337 and *ca.* 1340 respectively. They were married after 8 October 1349 and had no marriageable offspring until after 29 August 1358 (or even June 1362, when part of the objection to Taceddin's demand for a bride may have been that only an infant was available). It was an age of uncanonically early state marriages: Eudokia's sister, Anna, was married to Bagrat V (VI) in June 1367 at the age of ten years and two months, and the extreme case is that of Simonis, daughter of Andronikos II, married to Stephen Uroš II Milyutin of Serbia in 1299 at the age of five. It is, therefore, impossible to say how old Eudokia was when she married Taceddin of Limnia on 8 October 1379. After the death of her first husband on 24 October 1386 the opinionated, spirited, gossipy but unreliable Trapezuntine interpolator of Chalkokondyles maintains that she was intended for Manuel II Palaiologos of Constantinople, but that his father, John V (d. 1391), took her instead. In fact Sphrantzes reveals that she probably married Constantine Dragaš (Dejanović), grandfather of the last emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI, who died in 1395, and cites the case as a precedent for a Byzantine ruler marrying a former member of a Turkish harem. After her second widowhood Eudokia seems to have retired to Trebizond. Panaretos, ed. Lampsides, *passim*; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 96; Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 81–82, ed. Darkó, I, 75–76; G. Th. Zoras, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων* (Athens, 1958), 35; G. Sphrantzes, *Memorii, 1401–1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), 80, 358; R.-J. Loenertz, "Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocondyle. Le prétendu second mariage de Jean V Paléologue," *REB*, 15 (1957), 176–81; V. Grecu, "Zu den Interpolationen in Geschichtswerk des Laonikos Chalkokondyles," *BShAcRoum*, 27 (1946), 92–94; A. Bryer, "Pisanello and the Princess of Trebizond," *Apollo*, 76 (1962), 601–3; O. Lampsides, *Σύμμεκτα εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν Μιχαὴλ Παναρέτου*, in *Ἀρχ.Πόντ.*, 23 (1959), 46–48; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1969), 474–77.

GREEKS AND TÜRKMENS

NOTES TO APPENDIX II

¹⁴² OSMAN KARA İLÜK ('Yuluk' or 'Sülük,' the 'Black Leech') = Na, d. of Alexios III. Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantinā*, ed. Grecu (*supra*, note 80), 163, 165.

¹⁴³ MUTAHHARTEN (or Taharten) = Na, d. of either Alexios III or (less likely) Manuel III. The third of three proposed matrimonial alliances between Trebizond and Erzincan, and the only one certain enough to include in the genealogy. They are: (1) An *ulu hatun* and *presbyterissa*, who died on 28 December 1342, recorded on a ceramic Greek epitaph from Erzincan. Cumont proposed that she was "sans doute une princesse du sang des Comnènes ou la fille de quelque grande famille de leur entourage." The notion is attractive, for she would perhaps be a daughter of Alexios II, who seems to have initiated the Trapezuntine sequence of marriage alliances with Muslim neighbors, but it is curious that, if she were a Komnene, her name was not included on the epitaph—as was the famous Komnenos of Konya. Perhaps it was on a second and now lost tile. (2) Unaware of this inscription and of Mutahtarten's alliance, Izeddin concludes from Brosset's summary translation of Panaretos that Alexios III married a daughter to an emir of Erzincan, probably the *ahi Ayna beg*, who invaded Trebizond in 1348 and 1361. There is no evidence for the supposition, nor can the *ulu hatun* who died in 1342 be a wife of *ahi Ayna beg*, for she evidently outlived her husband to become a *presbyterissa* (? wife of a priest, ? deaconess) in the Orthodox Church of Erzincan, which was then undergoing travails), although how she managed to change her status is a matter of speculation, in which the possibility that she had, all along, been the *ulu hatun* of a Greek priest, should not be ruled out. (3) The *ahi Ayna beg* was succeeded in Erzincan by Mutahtarten, under Burhan al-Din (poet, *kadı*, and self-proclaimed Sultan of Eretna in 1381, who may, or may not, have died at the hands of the Karakoyunlu in 1398). Sultan Bayezid captured and released Mutahtarten's Trapezuntine wife at his siege of Erzincan in 1401. Mutahtarten was restored by Timur, but the Muslims of the largely *gavur* city (as Ibn Battuta pointed out, its Armenian bishop enjoyed more than local influence) took the opportunity to complain that "prince Taharten was even more favourable to [Christians] than he was to them, seeing that he specially cherished the Christians. Further they asserted that the Christian churches were superior in size to their mosques. On this Timur, it is said, sent for Taharten, reporting to him the complaint of the Moslems, and in reply Taharten agreed that it was true he especially favoured the Christians throughout his country for they brought him, he said, wealth by their trade. For an answer Timur then gave an order, commanding that a certain priest of the Greek church, who was regarded as a chief among the Christians, should be brought to him. Then by reason of the hatred in which he, Timur, held the Greeks of Constantinople, as also the Genoese of Pera, he forthwith ordered that this priest of the Christians should immediately change his faith and become a Moslem, but to do this that man would by no means consent. Timur on the spot gave orders that all the Christian population of Arzinjan should be put to the sword, but prince Taharten now besought him to have mercy, offering if Timur would spare their lives to bring him a gift of 9,000 aspers. . . . This sum Taharten having paid on behalf of the citizens Timur relented, but none the less ordered that all the Christian churches be demolished. . . ." Timur took possession of the now ruined castle overlooking Erzincan from the muddy Euphrates. Not surprisingly, there seems to have been a continuous state of tension, economic and religious, in this Christian majority caravan city, serving a Muslim majority area (which, on a smaller scale, was probably reflected in Bayburt). In 1314 three Roman Catholic missionaries were martyred in Erzincan *maydan* and in 1316–19 its Greek bishop (not subject to Trebizond) complained of the dire state of his establishment. But for Christian artisans and entrepreneurs there, things seem to have bettered with Mutahtarten's rule. He died before 1404 and "left no legitimate male issue to succeed him, and his wife was the daughter of the Emperor of Trebizond." Clavijo, trans. Le Strange, 125, 130 ('Zaratan'); Aşkipaşazade, in Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte* (*supra*, note 68), 107, 109, 113; Neşri, eds. Unat and Köymen (*supra*, note 58), I, 334–35; Ibn Battuta, trans. Gibb (*supra*, note 52), II, 437; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 231, 286, 362–63; Golubovich, *Biblioteca* (*supra*, note 27), II, 64–68, 544; III, 183–84; M. Bihl, "De duabus epistolis fratrum minorum Tartariae Aquilonaris An. 1323," *AFrH*, 16 (1923), 90; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, I, 83; Izeddin, "Notes sur les mariages princiers" (*supra*, note 76), 151; A. A. M. Bryer, "The fate of George Komnenos, ruler of Trebizond (1266–1280)," *BZ*, 66 (1973), 334 note 9, 347 note 76; F. Cumont, "Inscription de l'époque des Comnènes de Trébizonde," *Mélanges Pirenne*, I (Paris, 1926), 67–72; Giesecke, *Quelle* (= Bazm u Razm), 45–49, 66–69, 94–111.

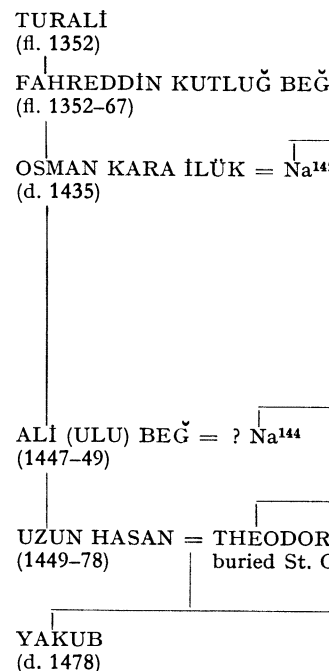
¹⁴⁴ ALI (ULU) BEĞ = Na, d. of Alexios IV. This marriage has a long and respectable history in secondary sources, ending with Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, 169. I have a ten-year-old note that it begins with "D'Herbelot, 893," but Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale, ou Dictionnaire Universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des Peuples de l'Orient*, 893, in the editions of Paris, 1697; Maestricht, 1776; La Haye, 1777–79; and Paris, 1781, does not contain it. More to the point, I am unable to find an original source to justify this oft-cited marriage, other than Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 462, which is far from explicit. The alliance must therefore be regarded as dubious. Uzun Hasan's actual mother was, in any event, the Armenian Sara *hatun*: Aşkipaşazade, trans. Kreutel, 225.

¹⁴⁵ CİHANŞAH = Na, d. of Alexios IV. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 462.

Alexios III. Ducas,

likely) Manuel III. Ican, and the only *presbyterissa*, who Cumont proposed que grande famille of Alexios II, who Muslim neighbors, ie epitaph—as was 2) Unaware of this nary translation of the *ahi Ayna beg*, on, nor can the *ulu* husband to become an, which was then r of speculation, in should not be ruled rhan al-Din (poet, ied at the hands of Trapezuntine wife slims of the largely cal influence) took o [Christians] than r asserted that the , sent for Taharten, hat it was true he he said, wealth by priest of the Greek im. Then by reason e Genoese of Pera, ge his faith and be he spot gave orders ince Taharten now him a gift of 9,000 nted, but none the session of the now here seems to have ority caravan city, ed in Bayburt). In a 1316–19 its Greek t. But for Christian ten's rule. He died the daughter of the şazade, in Kreutel, nd Köymen (*supra*, 're-Ottoman Turkey, 3–84; M. Bihl, "De 923), 90; Miklosich *upra*, note 76), 151;)," *BZ*, 66 (1973), bizonde," *Mélanges* 69, 94–111. spectable history in e that it begins with *naire Universel con-*, in the editions of ain it. More to the than Chalkokondy-garded as dubious. şikpaşazade, trans.

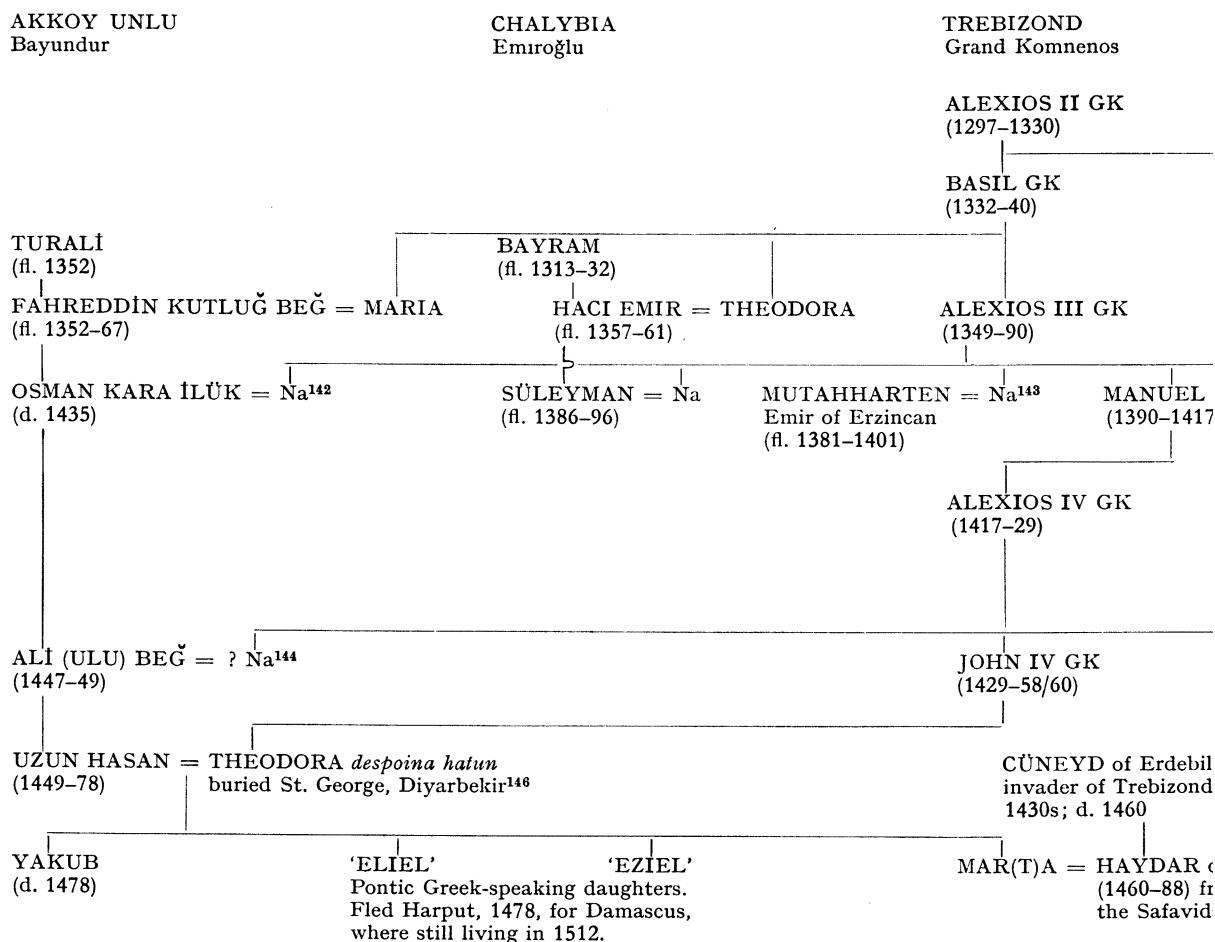
AKKOY UNLU
Bayundur



¹⁴⁶ THEODORA = UZUN HASAN and t in 1458, perhaps in Diyarbekir (her brother Harput, retired, after the debacle following buried in the Jacobite church of St. George (tine-Muslim marriage, in which Theodora t the only alliance in which the terms can be r docia' (as was rashly made out to Mehmed II), of Halanik and Sesera in the *banda* of Matz equivalent of a 'bride-price' in that Uzun Ha which he failed to do in 1461; (3) Theodora's tine household, and act as protector of local (able (and probably unusual) right to influen century Italian visitors describe Theodora a woman of that time, and throughout Persia the condition that she might remain in the lady in the world, always remained a good C manner, which she attended with much devo as ordered by our true religion" (technically her Italian visitors); "there also came wit high condition, who were always to remain w Greeks and many *calogieri*—the latter keep that a niece and a nephew (George, b. 1461 Muslim, recanted, and was given a wife by 'Gi The story is dubious, but in 1463 Theodor: nephew of David, last Grand Komnenos, to Uzun Hasan's diplomatic overtures to Venic in 1474—there were other connections with its patron saint, John the New, and Stephe who had married David Komnenos in 1426 foreign affairs with one Italian visitor, "ever

APPENDIX II: GENEALOGY OF THE MUSLIM MARRIAGES OF THE

References are to those marriages not explicit in A

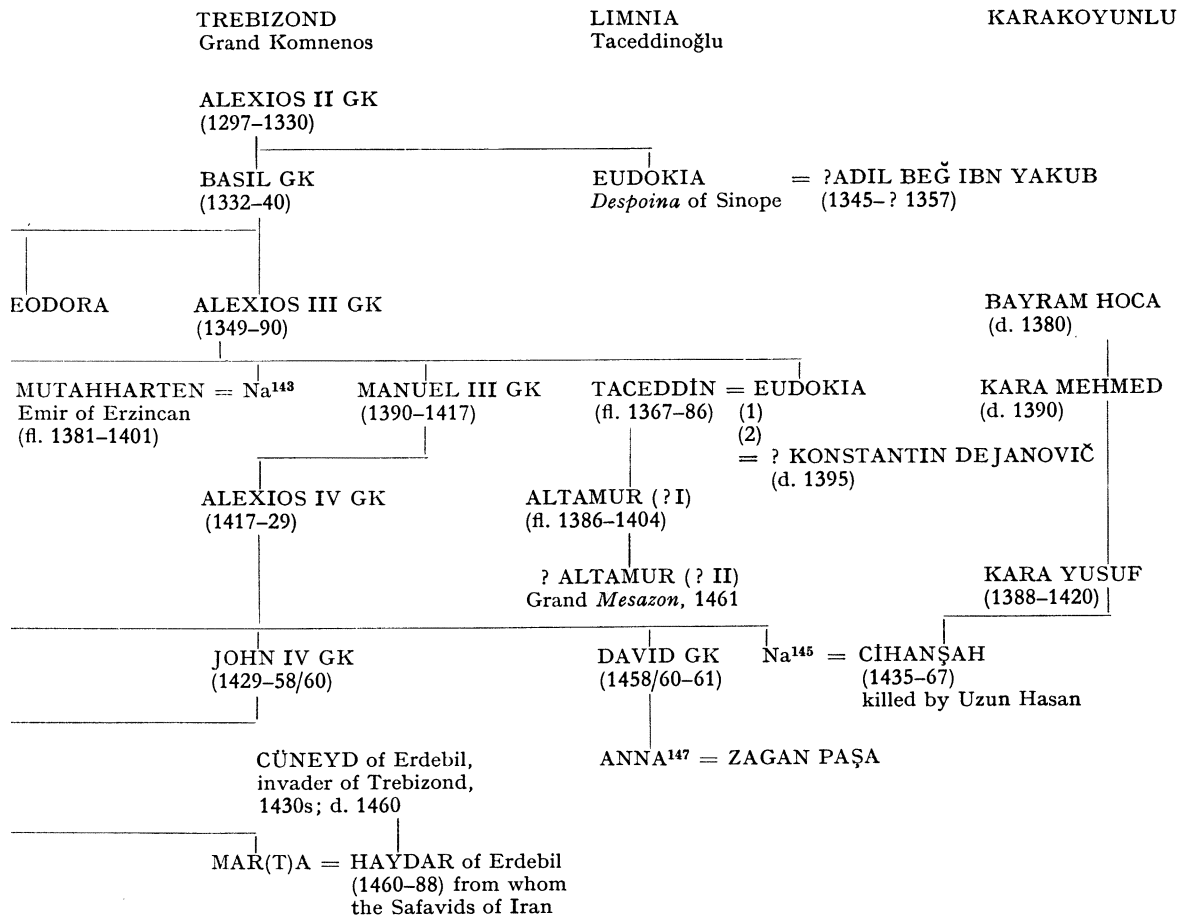


¹⁴⁶ THEODORA = UZUN HASAN and their offspring. Theodora was betrothed in 1457, married in 1458, perhaps in Diyarbekir (her brother David acting as *nymphostolos*), established her court at Harput, retired, after the debacle following Uzun Hasan's death in 1478, to Diyarbekir, and was buried in the Jacobite church of St. George (Mar Jurjis) there. This is the most celebrated Trapezuntine-Muslim marriage, in which Theodora became the *ulu hatun* of the Akkoynlu leader, and is the only alliance in which the terms can be reconstructed. They included: (1) a dowry, not of 'Cappadocia' (as was rashly made out to Mehmed II), but of imperial demesne and monastic land in the villages Halanik and Sesera in the *banda* of Matzouka and Sourmaina, as Ottoman *defters* reveal; (2) the equivalent of a 'bride-price' in that Uzun Hasan made some sort of undertaking to protect Trebizond, which he failed to do in 1461; (3) Theodora's right to remain Christian, keep a chaplain and Trapezuntine household, and act as protector of local Christians; and (4), as it turned out, Theodora's considerable (and probably unusual) right to influence Akkoynlu foreign relations. A group of late 15th-century Italian visitors describe Theodora as "very beautiful, being considered the most beautiful woman of that time, and throughout Persia was spread the fame of her beauty"; she married "under the condition that she might remain in the Christian faith"; "this *Despina* was the most religious woman in the world, always remained a good Christian and every day had Mass celebrated in the Greek church, in which she attended with much devotion"; she kept "a chaplain to perform the sacred offices ordered by our true religion" (technically, she and her father were in communion with Rome and her Italian visitors); "there also came with her many young maidens, daughters of noblemen of high condition, who were always to remain with her"; Harput was "inhabited for the greater part by monks and many *calogieri*—the latter keep company with the said lady." Spandugino suggests that a niece and a nephew (George, b. 1461) of Theodora joined Uzun Hasan, that George turned Muslim, recanted, and was given a wife by 'Giurgiubei' (perhaps Constantine II [1479-1505] of Georgia). The story is dubious, but in 1463 Theodora indeed made a disastrous attempt to secure a son or nephew of David, last Grand Komnenos, to bring up at her court. She appears to have been behind Uzun Hasan's diplomatic overtures to Venice in 1465-66 and to Stephen III the Great of Moldavia in 1474—there were other connections with Moldavia, for Trebizond had recently given the country's patron saint, John the New, and Stephen was married to Maria of Gothia, niece of a namesake who had married David Komnenos in 1426. Theodora and Uzun Hasan were prepared to discuss foreign affairs with one Italian visitor, "even when both Their Majesties were in bed; which I do not

think any other Muslim tomb in St. George, "meanly buried under like a box, one cubit high." Yakub is apparently probably killed by the conqueror of the Akkoynlu, to recognize another conqueror of the Akkoynlu, found their way to Trebizond Greek met them in 1512; Trebizond overhauled F. Babinger, *Mahorizon* (*supra*, note 2 in Persia, *Travels* 18, 41 note 4, 43, 7 (*supra*, note 26), 4 "Catherine ou Théc (= 'La Princesse de siècle entre la Turquie note 26), V (Paris-Kurşanskis, "Une empereur de Trébi N. Iorga, *Studii is Goths in the Crimea Tsamblak*: 'Le Ma *Etudes Balkaniques* ¹⁴⁷ ANNA = Z. legend, she fled to 27 (1966), 38 note

THE MUSLIM MARRIAGES OF THE PRINCESSES OF TREBIZOND

are to those marriages not explicit in Appendix I



in 1457, married her court at Trabekir, and was rated Trapezuntian leader, and is y, not of Cappadocia in the villages reveal; (2) the protect Trebizond, n and Trapezuntodora's consideration of late 15th-century most beautiful married "under the most religious ted in the Greek the sacred offices with Rome and of noblemen of e greater part by lugnino suggests t George turned 505] of Georgia). secure a son or ave been behind reat of Moldavia iven the country e of a namesake pared to discuss ; which I do not

think any other Mahomedan or Christian king ever granted, even to their nearest relations." Her tomb in St. George, Diyarbekir (ruined in 1883 and now lost) was shown to an Italian in 1507; she was "meanly buried under a portico near the door of the church in the earth, and above the tomb is a thing like a box, one cubit high and one wide and about three in length, built of bricks and earth." Her son Yakub is apparently not identical with the Yakub who succeeded Uzun Hasan (1478-90), but was probably killed by one of Uzun Hasan's Muslim wives in 1478. In 1500 there was a Western attempt to recognize another son as pretender to Trebizond. A daughter, Mar(t)a, became mother to Ismail, conqueror of the Akkoyunlu and (from 1501) first Safavid Shah of Persia. Her two unmarried daughters found their way to Damascus, where one Italian wrote: "I myself have often conversed with them in Trebizond Greek, which they learnt from Queen *Despinacaton*, their mother." Here Caterino Zeno met them in 1512; they recognized each other as relatives and spoke of their dynasty which had lost Trebizond over half a century before. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 490, 497; Doukas, ed. Grecu, 425; F. Babinger, *Mahomet II le Conquérant et son temps, 1432-1481* (Paris, 1954), 229; Gökbilgin, "Trabzon" (*supra*, note 22), 317, 320; Caterino Zeno, Iosafat Barbaro, Antonio Contarini, and a 'Merchant in Persia,' *Travels to Tana and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., 49 (London, 1883), 9, 12-14, 16, 18, 41 note 4, 43, 74 note 1, 146 note 6, 173-74, 178-79, 183; Iosafat Barbaro, *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia* (*supra*, note 26), 48v; V. Laurent, "Le Vaticanus latinus 4789," *REB*, 9 (1951), 88-89; Ch. Diehl, "Cathérine ou Théodora?", *BZ*, 22 (1913), 88-89; *idem*, *Dans l'Orient Byzantin* (Paris, 1917), 203-27 (= "La Princesse de Trébizonde," *Revue de Paris*, 1 October 1912); V. Minorsky, "La Perse au XVe siècle entre la Turquie et Venise," *Orientalia Romana*, 1 (1958), 99-117; Jorga, *Notes et extraits* (*supra*, note 26), V (Paris-Bucharest, 1916), 328; Hinz, *Uzun Hasan*, 29-30, 57, 63, 80, 95, 100, 105; M. Kuršanskis, "Une alliance problématique au XVe siècle. Le mariage de Valenza Comnena, fille d'un empereur de Trébizonde, à Niccolo Crispo, Seigneur de Santorin," *Apχ.Πόντ.*, 30 (1971), 94-106; N. Jorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei si Cetății-Albe* (Bucharest, 1899), 121; A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 282; P. Năsturel, "Une prétendue œuvre de Grégoire Tsambalak: 'Le Martyre de Saint Jean le Nouveau,'" *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII (Sofia, 1971), 345-51.

¹⁴⁷ ANNA = ZAGAN PAŞA. Chalkokondyles, Bonn ed., 527; Babinger, *Mahomet II*, 262. In legend, she fled to the mountains south of Trebizond. A. Bryer, "Trebizond and Serbia," *Apχ.Πόντ.*, 27 (1966), 38 note 27; Bryer, Isaac, and Winfield, "Nineteenth-century monuments," pt. 4, p. 148.